1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1812-1845]

rified, and said, "Takai knows about the intended assassination." They tried to pacify Takai and took refuge with the priest and those whom he favored. 173 669

But Takai was satisfied and he said: "Tupoutoa, we did not come to Vavau to seek wealth, but as your warriors, and here are you preparing to assassinate us. I will sail for Otea, and if you have a man let him come and we will fight." And they loaded and sailed for Otea and waited there. And Vavau and Tupoutoa were more afraid than ever at what Takai had said. And they decided to try again for reconciliation with Takai. 726

They talked and talked and decided that Vuki should ask permission to sail with him to Haapai and Tonga, because they were afraid lest Takai should go to Haapai and destroy everything and kill the people. So Vuki went to Otea. And Takai granted Vuki's request and after about five days they left. Vuki went with them to Haapai. Takai did nothing there because of his love for Vuki. They stayed a very short time at Haapai, then left for Tonga. Two or three years after the war at Feletoa, Takai died, [presumably about 1815 or 1816], and his younger brother [Fae] ruled in his place at Pea.

CAMPAIGNS OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU TUPOUTOA AND HIS SON TAUFAAHAU, 1812-1845[1]

I will not relate in this narrative the wars that were fought in former times, because that was the way of this foolish land, as though they ate the war as food. But we will talk about the war that was fought by the heathen. The war that Tupoutoa, the lord or father of Taufaahau, fought was waged during the time of a great epidemic called *ngangau* (pain in the head). That sickness was brought by a vessel from Fiji. The vessel's name was Uluvalu. The sickness raged badly in the three groups, Tonga, Haapai, and Vavau. It is said that they were not able to carry the dead away and bury them. It was at this time that the war came to the remnant of people that escaped. 173 669 164 731 726

The army faced from Hihifo towards the middle district of Tongatabu and it is said that the army was instructed by the chief Vaea of Houma to have the heads of their warriors bound with coconut fiber rope and fastened with a wedge, so that their heads should not be smashed with the club. The armies met at a fortress called Teekiu. Then a very strong army of the famous warrior Takai of Pea, came up behind them and the army of the Tui Kanokupolu was surrounded. Suddenly a great applause was heard and the king's warriors disputed and turned around. The people said that they had not applauded but that it was the gods that had applauded. Anyway, that was the way that the king's warriors knew that they were surrounded. Tupoutoa commanded that the bands of warriors should turn back to back so that the front lines should face the fortress and the back lines face the enemy at the rear. As they did so the armies clashed. They fought towards the fort, but the army at the back was pressing strongly on them, even though the warriors were not afraid, because they had confidence in Vunivalu's command, which was good. If they had been few in number and afraid, or if the king had not been there to lead, it could not have been done. This was the king of the family of Lolopaongo [Vahai] and Haa Vakatolo. The army of Takai was badly hit by the band of warriors at the back. The army facing the fort also did good work. It is said that Takai was badly wounded in this battle. He would have been killed had it not been for his brave warriors. After the battle Tupoutoa asked for a reconciliation, and they had peace. Each chief went with his own people and dwelt in his own fort, and Tonga was left to the rule of Tupoutoa. 726 173 669 714 173 726 669 728

There were wars that were fought at Vavau and which originated perhaps by the uprising of Vavau. After a time Tupoutoa became angry, collected the warriors of Tonga and went and fought Vavau and conquered it. He removed the chiefs and took

[1] Upon the request of J. Jiovata Hau, the scribe of Wellington Tupou-Maloni Ngu (King George II's mother's brother, who would have been king had he lived), this narrative has been dictated by Peter Vi (3).

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Toku, Fonualei, and Kao Islands]

soil. The population of Fonualei became so large and permanent that a church was erected there. The maximum figures for the two islands were one hundred souls on each in the time of the chief Abraham Tangaloa. However, the fertile land of Fonualei became a desert waste with the volcanic eruption of 1846. The people removed to Toku in time to avoid loss of life. Later the entire Toku population was moved to the Vavau group proper by the missionaries, for convenience in church attendance. Their descendants seem to reside principally at Utulei, Pangaimotu Island.

The Toku people were political exiles from Haamea in the central district of Tongatabu. The people of Haamea fought the Hihifo people during the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and were overcome. They fled to Toku under the leadership of the Haamea chiefs Tukutukuholoipangai, Ofakehokomaikaetau, and a third chief. Talafaiva, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua and (later?) wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I (Telea) was with them. The refugees were all of the Haa Takalaua and it seems likely that the struggle between Haamea and Hihifo was but a part of the Tui Kanokupolu's effort to eclipse the Tui Haa Takalaua. It is said that people from Makave in Vavau went to Toku to help the chiefs from Haamea. When the Haamea refugees arrived at Toku they found Niuatoputapu people in possession. These were ordered to leave and did so peaceably. This settlement of people from Haamea must have occurred in the seventeenth century if the references to Mataeletuapiko and Talafaiva are correct.

The son of one of the refugee chiefs from Haamea became the ruler of the Toku people under the title of Tangaloa. The last Tangaloa was Abraham Tangaloa of Utulei, Pangaimotu Island. The Tui Kanokupolu appointed the Tangaloa. The second Tangaloa bore the personal name of Katainatoa.

The god of the Toku people was incarnate in the *tukuhali* or sea snake, I could not learn the name of the god or the title of the priest. The Toku incarnation of the god fell into a well. The well was in consequence filled and a new one dug for use.

Tradition names the top of Kao Island, Haapai, as the site of a village, a statement which is pure fiction, as I learned by climbing to the summit, 3380 feet above sea level. A woman there one day said she was going for a walk. She intended to visit one of the coral islands which seemed to lie so close below that one could step over to it. She threw down her bundle of mats, then followed it, and was dashed to pieces on the rocks below. This tale is evidently told to illustrate the extreme steepness of Kao.

The ancient settlement on Kao was near the shore, not at the summit. The shore settlement was probably on the northwestern side, nearest Tofua.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Ofa went to Tongatabu, where he lived at or near the residence of the Tui Tonga. A child was born to the Tui Tonga by one of his concubines. After a time the Tui Tonga sailed to Haapai and left the mother and child in the care of Ofa. But Ofa and the woman became too fond, and when the Tui Tonga returned from Haapai, he found the child ill. Recourse was had to spinning a coconut to discover by whose fault the child was sick, and the lot fell on the Tui Tonga and the concubine. On again spinning the coconut between these two, the concubine was indicated. She admitted her intimacy with Ofa. The child recovered and the Tui Tonga said to name him Takelevela, after Ofa's father. This child, though the son of a Tui Tonga, was adopted as the son of Ofa.

Another good example of divination by coconut spinning is given on page 298.

In the account of Peter Vi (3) concerning the introduction of Christianity into Haapai, the following example of divination is mentioned, as presaging the favorable or unfavorable reception of Christianity by the Haapai chiefs. Peter Vi was proceeding from Tongatabu to Lifuka Island, about 1830, to give Christian instruction and was doing so at the wish of Taufaahau, the Tui Haapai, who later became King George I. "And we cast lots. If we arrived at Haafeva and Haveahikuleo [Tuuhetoka] was sitting with torn mats around his loins as a sign of mourning, we were to know that the chiefs of Haapai were very angry. And when we arrived we saw that Tuuhetoka had mourning mats on."

The following account was furnished by Mr. W. H. Murley:

In July 1909 a small boy was sitting by himself in a house in Futu in Niuafoou [Futu had been demolished by a hurricane in April, 1909] and a man whom he had not previously seen entered and asked the small youth if he knew the reason of the frequent earthquakes. The boy replied that he did not, that he was yet young and without learning. The man answered, "Then you will know, for in the month of September your people will not be able to sit down to eat, for something dreadful will occur." With that the man turned to go and the boy saw with startled eyes that the man had wings. He walked a little, then lifted himself and flew out of sight. The boy has been most strictly cross-questioned but he still sticks to his original story. As a consequence people are leaving Niuafoou whenever the opportunity occurs.

The island in the middle of the lake has been split in halves through earthquakes. I will leave this space open so that should anything of importance occur in confirmation of the boy's vision or whatever it might be, I will write it down.

In September 1912 volcanoes burst out in Futu in all directions and the aspect in that part has been changed. Nobody was killed and the eruption lasted only a week or so.

OMENS

Many omens require no priest nor diviner for interpretation at the present day, though anciently the priests and diviners may have been consulted about them. The omens include sneezing, the movements of animals, and certain meteorological and celestial phenomena.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

177 754 797 829 " tion of which he had escaped." (He had actually escaped from Botany Bay.) " The people " then began to treat Morgan with every species " of insult, so that his life was very uncom- " fortable, and often in great danger. Morgan " in his turn told the chiefs who *they* were; viz. " that they were men sent out by the king of " England to bring a pestilence upon the people " of Tonga, and that they accordingly shut " themselves up in this house, to perform witch- " craft, and make incantations, which was the " cause of the pestilence that then raged:" [164] [791] (there was an epidemic disease at the time, which was very fatal among the chiefs, two or three dying every day) " and that all their " books were books of witchcraft. The chiefs " began to take Morgan's statement into serious " consideration; there certainly was a great " mortality among them: the white men often " assembled, and sang very loud; besides which, " they would not let the Tonga people be pre- " sent; and to prevent them even from peeping " through the crevices of the reed fencing of " the house, they stopt them up with all kinds " of filth, knowing that the cleanliness of the " Tonga people would not then allow them even " to approach. And the chiefs said to them- " selves, if these people are doing no harm, why " do not they allow us to be present? we do

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

that there were at least twelve or thirteen different garrisoned places upon the island; each, in a state of warfare with all the rest, was determined to maintain its claims as long as it had strength to do so. Thus was the island of Tonga, to which war had hitherto been a stranger, torn by civil strife, and at times given up a prey to famine, a situation worse perhaps than that under the tyranny of Toogoo Ahoo. Besides their domestic troubles, every year they were disturbed by attacks from Finow, who made it his annual custom to make a descent upon one or other of their fortresses, and sometimes upon several of them in the same season; but they were all so well fortified and intrenched, that their enemy, however powerful, consisting of the Hapai people, under the command of Finow, and the Vavaoo people, under that of Toobó Nuha, had never succeeded, at the time of Mr. Mariner's first arrival, in taking or destroying a single fort; that is to say, during the space of seven or eight years.

This piece of history Mr. Mariner heard not only from Finow, but also from Toobo Nuha, Tooitonga, and a number of other chiefs, as well also, though in detached portions, from several of the inhabitants of the island of Tonga, and has found an uniform agreement and con-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

669 266 727 was raising to his mouth, when he saw, by the smile on the countenance of the man, that it was human liver; overcome by disgust, he threw it in the man's face, who only laughed, and asked him if it were not better to eat good meat than die of hunger.

175 266 26 [77] [731] When Captain Cook visited these islands, cannibalism was scarcely thought of amongst them: but the Fiji people soon taught them this, as well as the art of war; and a famine, which happened some time afterwards, rendered the expedient for a time almost necessary. On this occasion they way-laid and murdered one another to supply themselves with food; and they still tell an anecdote of four brothers, who, in this time of scarcity, invited their aunt to come and partake of a large yam, which they said they had secretly procured: the poor woman, glad of the idea of getting something to eat, and pleased with the kindness of her nephews, went to their house, where they soon dispatched her, and she herself formed the materials of a repast. Since that period, there [525] was a great scarcity at one of the fortresses on the island of Tonga, called Nookoo Nookoo: two daughters of a chief of this place agreed to play at the game of lafo* against two

* This game will be described in the second volume of the work.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

within is a smaller cage, in which there is the hen bird, who also makes a peculiar noise, as if in answer to the one on the outside; but be this as it may, both cock birds and hens are attracted towards the spot, and are shot by the sportsman. This sport is practised by none but the king and very great chiefs, for training and keeping these birds require exceeding great care as well as great expense. One man is appointed to each pair of birds, and he has nothing else to do but to attend to the management of them; and, if this is not done with great skill, they will not make the noise necessary to attract others. So much attention, in short, is paid to these birds, that their keepers are authorised to go and demand plantains for them, of whomsoever it may be, and howsoever scarce may be this article of food, even if there were a famine, and the people almost starving: if a keeper, even on such occasions, sees a fine bunch of plantains, he will go and *taboo* it, which he does by sticking a reed in the tree, and telling the proprietor that those plantains are tabooed for the use of the birds. These keepers live well, and are, in general, very insolent fellows, sometimes committing very great depredations, under frivolous pretensions of procuring food for their birds. The sufferer sometimes makes a complaint to the king, or

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

6. A number of localities bear the name Toku. If the island off Vavau is indicated, the wind would be from the north. 539 823 103

7. Fakanumuli is a tract near the sea front of Lifuka. Alaimuitoa lies to the west of Fakanamuli.

8. Velitoa is possibly the pool in which Finau bathed just before the assassination of Tupou Niua (Mariner, vol. 1, p. 129).

9. The meaning of *kumi*, translated cloth, is really a measure of cloth. [192]

10. Tongoleleka (Short mangrove) has become the proper name of a locality in Lifuka, occupied by a large village.

11. Tofua, the lofty volcanic island, and its still loftier neighbor Kao, are about 35 miles to the westward from Lifuka. The shore of Lifuka, about which the latter part of this poem centers gives a fine view of these two mountain islands. The setting sun throws about them wonderful and ever-changing beauties.

12. Tohonakao is the summit of Kao. It is not clear what is meant by "Tohonakao that is peopled." Tofua was inhabited until quite recent times, the people removing because the volcano erupted. People still have their gardens there, and visit them from neighboring islands. But there seems no record of Kao being peopled to its summit. [361] [731]

Page 105. In praise of Vavau

1. Taunga; one of the islands of Vavau; Keila, a locality on Taunga.

2. Tapana, Motuha, and Hunga are islands of Vavau.

3. Pautua is an unidentified locality in Vavau.

4. Vaihingano (Water of hingano flower) is evidently the name of a stream or pool in Vavau. Better known is the stream Vaisingano, near Apia, in Samoa, which is also the name of a Samoan chiefly house (26, vol. 1, pp. 76, 77).

5. Veafakaniua and Kavenga are unidentified localities in Vavau.

6. There is a Faleula in Samoa. This name has been explained by an excellent Tongan informant as equivalent to *falefaivo*, house of dancing.

7. Siaafafine (Mound of women) and Kavafakaua are two pigeon-snaring mounds near Feletoa. [345]

8. The places mentioned in this line seem to be near Feletoa also.

9. The translation of this line is only a conjecture.

10. The localities named in this context are unidentified. Uluipuaka is also given as a correct reading for Tulunipuaka.

11. Toafaoava is an open tract near Haalaufuli (21).

12. The *ngahu* is a shrub that grows on the shore. High-water mark is called *mata-ngahu* (edge of the *ngahu*). [137] [192]

13. Anamanu is near Haalaufuli (21).

14. Kafoa is a hill in Vavau. The reference to the "jest of Tongatabu that has been carried too far" is not clear but evidently it is something that makes light of the claims of Kafoa. The jest may have been of the bard himself, as he is a Tongatabu man. One copy would be translated "Tongatabu hath appeared too much"; that is, has been made too much the theme of poetical compositions, overlooking the claims of places like Kafoa. 539 823

15. The word *kafongalu* means literally a wound of breakers, that is, of surf-riding; and so it is applied to a wound given or received in sport or jest. [192]

16. The battle here is the give and take of repartee and joke. "It is fair, the falling in battle."

17. The house in Neiafu is a sanctuary. "If it leak" means if it be unable to afford effective shelter to suppliants because its god is not sufficiently powerful to withstand the gods of their enemies. Ngaakau is a locality in the village of Tefisi, belonging to the chief Luani. Clearly there was a sanctuary there, which is thought to have been associated with the chief Fakafanua. [778]

18. Lahakau is felt in Tonga to be a borrowing from Fiji, where, however, the form Lasakau would be expected. It is said that the districts in Fiji subject to Bau were called Lahakau, and that the people tended gardens, and did other tasks of the kind, for Bau. [192]

Page 105. Weather coast of Vavau

1. This is, in part at least, a love poem. The theme of the lines beginning "The landsman made a complaining" is amorous and many of the localities mentioned have

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) - 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

532. Eiki pea oi: Chief and striving. 539 565 829 183

The expression refers to a chief who, although he is a chief and able to enjoy his rank in safety and affluence, is not satisfied and sets on foot schemes by which he hopes to gain more. The upshot of his endeavors is the loss of what he had. Generally of a man who is not contented with the prosperity he has, will not leave well alone, and who through his discontented strivings comes off worse than he was before.

533. Hau ki nima: Lord to (by) hand. 539 565 557

Refers primarily to those chiefs who enjoyed great prestige not by right of birth but by right of conquest. Used generally of those who acquire privilege or status by violence.

534. Hau pea kui: King and blind. 539 643 829

Used of one who is a king but is regardless of the interests of his people. Especially it is employed of one who before his elevation to such high rank manifested good qualities that marked him as one fit for rule, but on succeeding to kingship changed to harshness and incapacity to win his people's affections. Not unlike Tacitus' "Fully capable of rule if he had never ruled."

535. Hongea moe houeiki: Enduring famine with the chiefs. 539 565 622 731 511

The chiefs were the great reservoirs into which flowed the food and wealth of the country; it was indeed tabu to eat the more valued kinds of food without first presenting the chiefs with their proper share. In times of scarcity the rank and file came off very badly but those who had the good fortune to be closely associated with the great chiefs were in the way of getting a share of whatever sustenance the country afforded. (Compare No. 544.)

536. Koe lau ia he koe tala ki he tui: That's talk. What, is it telling the king? 539 578 643

Used derisively by one man to another who threatens to report his conduct to a third person. Much like, "Pooh, what do I care if you do tell so-and-so? Is he the king that I should mind him?" (See No. 569.)

537. Lea hange ha Pelehake: Speak like a Pelehake. 539 565 622 195 537

The Pelehake is one of the great chiefly houses of Eastern Tongatabu. We have not discovered whether the Pelehake had any special connection with ceremonial or other speech or whether this proverb refers to the fact that the chiefs generally were the great repositories of information about correct and graceful language and ceremony. The phrase means to speak well, with well-modulated resonant voice and forceful, graceful diction.

538. Oku hiki mai pe ho mua vala ka koe Haafeva pe koe: The front of your *vala* is lifted but you are only a Haafeva man. 539 565 554 291

This refers to the chiefly *vala* or dress, called *vala'i*, which consists of a very large piece of native cloth wrapped in several thicknesses round

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 manner of doing it rendered the present doubly
797 valuable, and no present could be more acceptable
123 and handsome than this, as Mulkaamair liked plan-
431 tains more than all other fruits.
482

Though he was pleased with the presents sent
175 him, yet he had a dignity of spirit, that prevented
634 him, in the scarce seasons, from calling on me, even
431 though he was in the neighbourhood, and but badly
[731] supplied with provisions. Had I been a native
[829] chief, he would have called without ceremony;
but he was above seeking assistance from moolee,
or the stranger. He was a man of such boundless
generosity, that if I even went to him and asked
him to let me have a field of his to cultivate, he
would laugh, and say, "go and take it." Hence,
whenever I understood he was in the neighbour-
hood, I always took care to dress a pig, and sent
it him; and he never omitted to return me equal
kindness. This[1] manner of bestowing, was surpris-
ingly refined. If he sent me a pig, those who
brought it, would say, "they had brought a pig, but
it was very small, and intended for the servants, if I
would permit them, for Mulkaamair's sake, to accept
it.*" The servants then rose, and thanked the bear-

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* The respectful and refined manner, in which Abigail presented to David, two hundred loaves, two bottles of wine, five sheep ready dressed, five measures of parched corn, and an hundred clusters of raisins, and two hundred cakes of figs, when he was marching at the head of four hundred

[1] [Erratum: this should read His. Cf. errata sheet, Category 116, p. 235---Analyst.]

[This

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

The island of Pangai has a greatest height of 290 feet and a total area of 2,188 acres. All the island makes up one of the royal estates. There are two villages, Pangai and Utulei. In 1931 their populations were given as 250 and 104 respectively.[4] The division of acreage between the two villages is roughly indicated on the island map (Fig. 1).[A]

Because the principal economic activity of the villagers is gardening and cultivation of root crops mainly, a note may be added on soil and climate. The following information[5] refers specifically to 'Uta Vava'u but there is no reason to think that it does not apply equally well to the island of Pangai. The islands are of a coral-formation on a volcanic base. The soil is rich and fertile. The climate is sub-tropical with a humidity in mid-summer that is severe and which has a year-round mean in Neiafu of 77 per cent. The rainfall is fairly heavy with a wet season from December to April and an occasional short but injurious drought between October and December. (Rainfall range in Neiafu, 68 to 103 inches, mean of 82 inches.) The soil of the island is very porous and water may be obtained easily by sinking a well. Today however, the villagers rely on concrete cisterns to obtain water for drinking and domestic purposes. The number and location of these cisterns in Pangai village is shown on the map (Fig. 2).[B] The prevailing winds are the south-east trade-winds. During the rainy season, hurricanes are an ever-constant threat to the villagers. Only occasionally do these hurricanes occur with disastrous effect. Every year however, the possibility of hurricane means an ever-recurrent anxiety. A hurricane does great damage to the gardens and cultivations and generally means food-shortage for many months thereafter. Even strong winds of less than hurricane force may cause great damage if they

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 10]

Tongan orthography. No confusion need arise: it should be obvious that the village of Pagai on the map is the same village referred to as Pangai in the text. It is hard to answer the very natural question as to why we use these two orthographies thus, instead of one only. Presumably we think the Polynesian system more correct than the Tongan system although we would feel guilty if we tampered with the standardized spelling of place-names on a map.

[4] According to our household census, the population of Pangai in December, 1938, was 268 (see p. 69).

[5] From Wood, A. H., *History and Geography of Tonga*, Auckland, 1938, pp. 85-86.

A. [See category 116, p. 6--Analyst]
B. [See category 116, p. 9--Analyst]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

blow at the time of, or immediately after, heavy rains when the ground is soft and consequently the roots of the trees have little grip in the muddy, yielding soil.

THE VILLAGE

Pangai village is a relatively self-contained economic unit. The villagers look upon their village as their chief source of satisfaction for both work and play. There is, of course, continual coming and going between Pangai and other nearby villages. On the half dozen times each year when the banana and tourist boat calls at Neiafu (population in 1931, 1610 people), many Pangai people, men mostly, congregate in Neiafu to see the sights and to gossip with relatives and friends from other villages. Each year a few youths from the village go off to school in Nukualofa, capital and chief port of the Kingdom on distant Tongatapu, 170 miles to the south. They travel by small motor vessel or more hazardous cutter. Sometimes they return to Pangai for the annual vacation. Often they stay with relatives in Tongatapu until their schooling is finished. Adults rarely make the journey to Tongatapu. For the most part they stay in the village, relieving monotony by occasional visits to Neiafu.

The map of Pangai village (Fig. 2)[A] sketches the lay-out of house-lots which together take up an area of about 20 acres. There are four church buildings. One of these is of European, church-like form; another is a small simple four-square board structure; the remaining two are Tongan-style architecture. The school-house is a small frame building, bare inside and out. The children sit on the floor. The community bark-cloth-making house stands next to the school-house. It is a larger frame building that stands empty and unused most of the year. The two stores are again small frame buildings with large copra-drying platforms and small copra storehouses alongside.

The style of house common in the village is also indicated on Figure 2. Of the 50 dwelling houses, 36 or 72 per cent. are Tongan style, 14 or 28 per cent. are European frame houses with iron roofs. Most of the Tongan style houses are built according to old-time native practice with coconut-sheet wall-screens and coconut mat thatching. A

[A] [See category 116, p. 9--Analyst]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

643 trade was at a standstill. The people went to their plantations only to dig up and carry away food for the great funeral feasts. Their only labour was the erection of the great tomb in the Malaekula (Red square). Contrary to general expectation, the king's great-grandson, George Taufaahau, succeeded him without disturbance. This was in a great measure due to the loyalty and good sense of Tukuaho, who might easily, had he pleased, have divided the country into factions. The young king of twenty ill repaid this devotion. For the first few months, it is true, he followed his Premier's advice. But no sooner did he begin to feel secure in his new position than he began to listen to advisers of another kind. The balance in the treasury had melted away in the expenses of the funeral. Under the most favourable circumstances, the country could only recover under careful management. But before the people could return to work, an epidemic of measles, then prevalent in New Zealand, broke out in Nukualofa. We all know the story of the measles in Fiji,—how, in 1876, it swept away 40,000 out of the population of 150,000. Measles, when it attacks the Polynesians, is no longer the infantine malady we know of. It becomes a devastating plague. The Tongans, with the experience of Fiji in their memories, took, it is true, some precautions against the after-effects of the disease; but, nevertheless, one-twentieth of the population was carried off, and the remainder was so demoralised that it was threatened with famine. The measles gave the enemies of the Government the opportunity they wanted. The infection must have been brought by a steamer, and the Premier had been responsible for the granting of pratique. It mattered not that the king had himself sanctioned the hauling down of the yellow flag. An excuse was wanted for dismissing him, and the king availed himself of it. There was a *coup-d'état*. One morning the European officers of Customs found sentries at their office doors. Tukuaho was summarily dismissed without any assigned reason, Sateki appointed in his place, and an unemployed schoolmaster and a

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

As soon as the news reached Finau he set sail with all his forces from Haapai, and disembarked at Hahake, the eastern end of Tongatabu, in order to procure provisions for his army; but he found that the country had been utterly laid waste by the enemy. He therefore lost no time in coasting westward. In Hihifo he met an unexpected check. The enemy had intrenched themselves behind earthworks surmounted with a strong reed fence. He tried in vain to force the gate, and when his men were wearied with repeated attacks the enemy rushed out and put them to flight. They ran for their canoes, and sailed at once for Haapai. Finau was now driven to revenge himself by a series of night attacks. He would arrive off the coast at nightfall, and post men in every road leading to the fortress. A sudden attack would then be made, and the enemy, taken by surprise, would rush into the country for shelter, where they were struck down by the men in ambush. Before the alarm could spread to the neighbouring forts Finau's men had re-embarked and were under sail for Haapai. These expeditions were made in a single canoe carrying 250 men.

The planting season had come and gone, and the constant alarms had prevented any provision for the ensuing year from being made. The object of every hostile expedition had been to destroy as much of the crops as possible. The year 1800 opened, therefore, with a terrible famine in Tongatabu, while in Haapai the land proved insufficient to support the large number of men congregated there. Each district had thrown up intrenchments, within which the people lived, not daring to resume the cultivation of their lands. Many were driven to can-

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
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as twenty-six per thousand, which is very unlikely, seeing that families of more than three living children are rare. Nevertheless, the Tongans are all agreed that, in spite of a devastating epidemic of measles in 1893, there has been an increase of population of over 200 in the nine years; the returns say 203. I think myself that the population is stationary, or slightly decreasing, but that there has been no very marked decline, as in Hawaii, New Zealand, and Fiji since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The people, moreover, are so fearful of foreign epidemics and so sensitive about quarantine that there is not much likelihood of a sudden decline for many years to come.

It was very pleasant to renew acquaintance with the European colony at the Consulate. Many of them are prosperous merchants, and their appearance of rude health justified the saying that the climate of Tonga is the healthiest in the Pacific. The little gathering did not pass off without incident. While I was talking to two new arrivals an elderly and rather feeble little gentleman in black entered the room, and my two visitors hastily seized their hats and took their leave before I had had time to exchange a word with them. The features of my

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
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133 [184] Tongan ensign was hoisted upon it, and the new island became a portion of King George's dominions. It did not swell his revenues, for, when I passed it four years later, it had shrunk to less than half its original size, and every roller that broke upon its shores brought down a land-slip of pumice which covered the surface of the sea for some distance. H.M.S. *Porpoise* had examined it in 1899, and had reported it as a reef barely awash, and her officers were anxious to see whether there had been any change since their last visit. We sighted it at three o'clock in the afternoon. The sea was breaking heavily, and as we drew near we were astonished to find a black hump protruding nine feet above the waves. It was impossible to make a closer examination in the boats, but the navigating lieutenant was satisfied that the restless island was emerging again from the sea.

731 Early next morning we steamed into Neiafu Harbour. Something unusual about the vegetation on the outer island had struck us as we came in, but we were not prepared for the scene of desolation that met us as we swung round Utulei Point to the anchorage. The centre of a terrific cyclone had struck the island on April 2nd, 1900, just a week before our arrival. Scarce a house

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

was left standing; the trees were naked; the graceful palms were mere ragged broomsticks stuck aslant in the earth. In the steamy calm the water of the harbour was like oil, and it was impossible to picture the wild fury that had beset the place but seven days past. We landed, half deafened by the reverberating echo of the saluting guns, to pay our official visit to George Finau, now promoted to be governor over the people whose hereditary lord he is. Abnormally thick-set when I knew him, he was now elephantine in girth, and if his twelve-year-old son maintains his present rate of growth, his little finger will be thicker than his father's loins.

The formal reception being over, we were free to stroll through the town. The ruin was complete; the government offices were an untidy heap of lumber; the great native church, the last work of King George of pious memory, had collapsed; its mighty roof, unshipped from the supporting posts, but still held together by its sinnet lashings, lay careened like a stranded hull—the pulpit was overturned, the flooring ripped from end to end. Never again, the king told me, would such a house be built again, for the degenerates of these days prefer corrugated iron. Already the Roman Catholics were pointing to

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
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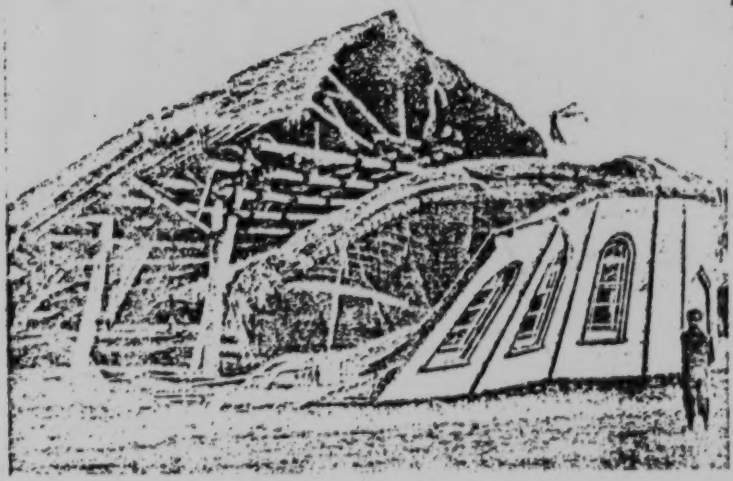

THE CHURCH BUILT BY KING GEORGE I.
Wrecked by the cyclone

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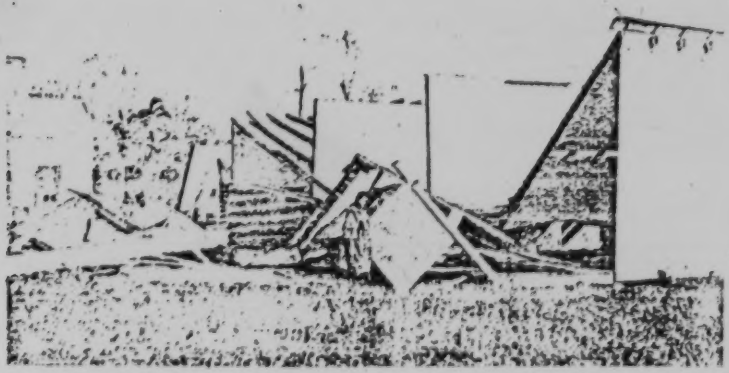

THE GOVERNMENT OFFICES AT VAVAU
Wrecked by the cyclone. A female convict is clearing away the wreckage

[facing p. 186]

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15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
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their concrete church, still standing like an island among the general wreckage, as a proof of Divine warranty, a little tempered perhaps by reason of a gaping rent in the tower. The people were living in the open air, crawling into the cover of their ruined houses to shelter from the rain. Poor souls! they bore their misfortunes with a light heart, though the crop of orange trees, from which they get their living, were uprooted, and the cocoanuts would not recover for two years. Every boat in the island was busy bringing food from the less stricken villages, and the men were saving something from the wreck by turning the fallen cocoanuts into copra.

Next day we set forth in the ship's boats to survey the German coaling-station in the bight of the harbour. The shore is here a coral reef, upheaved about fifteen feet above the sea. The soil is shallow, but, like all limestone formations, very productive, and covered with plantations and cocoanut trees. On the further side was the open sea, for this part of the harbour is a mere breakwater, tapering away to a boat passage in the bight of the harbour, where the land is only two furlongs across. The Germans had done themselves handsomely, and had allowed no concern for the welfare of the

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

to these islands being extremely difficult, owing to the precipitous nature of the coast, and lying also, as they do, very much to leeward, they are uninhabited, and are but seldom visited by the people.

In 1851 the following incident occurred in connexion with this locality. Vakajuiola, a brother of the late King Josiah, of Tonga, with a number of his people, was on a voyage from Haabai to the former island, when a severe storm overtook them. It was late in the day, when they bore away before the gale, expecting, if the wind continued, and the canoe held together, to be driven to the Fijis. The storm, however, rapidly increased. The large sail was torn into shreds; and, owing to the heavy sea, it was momentarily expected that the kalia would part in sunder, and consign the sixty persons on board to a watery grave. Providentially, the vessel was driven straight between the two Hugas, and there it did indeed part in sunder, and become a total wreck. Not a single life, however, was lost. Some gained the shore of the one island, and some that of the other; but all, with great difficulty, effected a landing, and scrambled somehow to the summit of the cliffs. Here they remained for several weeks, subsisting upon cocoa-nuts, birds' eggs, and any edible roots they could find. Starvation at length stared them in the face. Meanwhile it was resolved, by some means or other, to construct a small canoe, or *bobao*, in which one of the party should attempt to paddle his way to Tongatabu, a distance of about forty miles, for assistance. By the aid of one plane-iron, mounted as an adze, a small *bobao* was made, in which a native Teacher embarked on his perilous undertaking. He reached our Mission

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station at Hihifo, in Tongatabu, in safety, but greatly exhausted; and from thence canoes were immediately dispatched for the rescue of the sufferers, all of whom were safely brought away. The first escape, and subsequent endurance of suffering, on the part of the castaways, was all the more remarkable, because a goodly number of them were women. But it may be here remarked, in passing, that Tonguese women are quite as clever and expert in swimming as are the men; although, of course, their physical powers would not enable them to hold out so long as those of the sterner sex.

Leaving the Haabai group, and proceeding still to the northward, another volcanic island is met with, called Late. This island lies in the same parallel of distance as the two Hugas, from the main chain of islands, and is therefore considerably to the westward. It occupies a position about midway between Haabai and the Haafuluhao, or Vavau group. It also is uninhabited, but it is an island of considerable resources, and it is frequently visited by voyagers proceeding between Tonga and Fiji. In making a final start for the latter islands, Late affords a good point of departure for the native navigators from Vavau. The nearest of the Fijis lie almost due west from thence, and Late, being a lofty conical island, is visible from a great distance.

The Haafuluhao group is the most variegated and beautiful of the Friendly archipelago. Of the islands which compose it, Vavau is the largest and most important. Then come Bagaiinotu, Falevai, Niuababu, Huga, Oloua, Koulo, Ofu, Ovaka, and a number of islets, chiefly lying to the eastward, in close proximity to each other.

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the sea is sepulchral and forbidding. Nothing is presented to the eye but huge piles of funereal rocks, belted round at their base by the white foam of the breakers. On landing, the paths are found to be black, the stones are black, and even the shrubs and trees, in the lower parts of the ravines and valleys, look black and dismal. In the higher portions of the island, however, the vegetation is rich and beautiful. A lake of pellucid and almost unruffled water occupies the centre of the island. This lake has never been fathomed, although the people have often made the attempt. The surface shines like a vast mirror; and its calm repose contrasts most strikingly with the turmoil of the outer ocean in the distance. The entire island, in fact, seems to be the circular ridge of an ancient and vast volcano. From its summit the observer looks down, on the one side, over stupendous cliffs, upon the lake, and over the swelling and restless sea on the other. The lake is about three miles in diameter, and there is no visible connexion between it and the sea. The water is excessively brackish, and no fish of any kind is found. The surface of the lake seems to be on the sea level, but the necessary observations to determine the point have never been made.

The scene of the destructive volcanic eruption referred to, lay over the finest gardening land in the island, through the whole of which the writer walked, during a Missionary tour, in 1848. It was highly fertile, and well cultivated. Eruptions, on a small scale, had already occurred on different parts of the island, even within the memory of some of the oldest inhabitants, but never in the district now doomed to total destruction.

Earthquakes, being common, did not generally

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133 create much alarm among the natives; but, on the
731 night of June 24th, 1853, one of long continuance, and dreadful severity, startled the people. It, however, passed away, and was succeeded by a low muttering sound as of distant thunder. About midnight another convulsive throe shook the entire island with greater force than before. That also passed away without any visible evil consequences. At two o'clock A.M. a third fearful convulsion of nature ensued, with most appalling and fatal results. The earth was rent open in the very centre of a native village. A small chapel was swallowed up, and the flames of a new volcano shot up high in the air, as red as blood; while the molten sea of lava, belching from the fiery gorge, so suddenly opened, swept houses, trees, and all living things, into one burning sepulchre. Before daylight an extensive tract of country was completely buried beneath a mass of liquid fire. The quantity of lava disgorged, in this eruption, must have been enormous. Ten miles of country, once covered with richest verdure, having been encased in solid rock, averaging from eight to fifteen feet in thickness.

The descriptions of this sad calamity, given to us both by Europeans and natives, only a few months after it took place, were such as might well justify the supposition they entertained on that dreadful night, that the last knell of time had been rung, and that the judgment of the great day was at hand.

133 One year after the eruption, the spot was visited by a brother Missionary, whose account we here transcribe:—"After breakfasting on a baked pig, prepared by the chief of the village that was engulfed, and who lost his whole family, we set off to

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visit the craters. There is no crater where the village was swallowed up, but there is one a short distance from it. There are upwards of thirty craters. I scrambled up the principal one; but the cinders, of which the cone is formed, were so hot, that I could not stay up a moment; nor could I bear the cinders in my hand for any length of time. The cinders are of the nature of coke and of burnt clay, and the lava is more like bitumen than scoria. I saw no metallic substance whatever on the craters or streams of lava. From the principal crater to the outermost one is a distance of six miles, with craters at certain intervals. The tide of fire flowed on to the sea; and the main stream is three miles wide from the lake to the ocean. The lake boiled like a cauldron; and when the principal crater was burning fiercely, all the others were so also; and when its fire slackened, the others did so simultaneously: an evident proof that the whole island is one vast fire, with a thin crust of earth upon its top."

Long after the more powerful action of the volcano had ceased, the waters of the lake were frequently disturbed by tongues of fiery flame shooting up through them, as well as from clefts that opened in the surrounding precipices. These phenomena were not infrequent, and they created great consternation in the native mind.

Marvellous was the escape of those who survived the terrors and dreadful catastrophe of that fearful night. Some were terribly scorched by the hot cinders that poured upon them as they ran. One man, while running, stumbled into a fissure of the ground, which suddenly opened at his feet; but recovering his footing, with great presence of mind, and a mighty spring, he flew off again, just in time

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133 to escape from a jet of fire which shot up from the very spot where he had fallen. Another, snatching up two of his children, and shouting to his wife to follow, made for an adjacent rising ground, where they found some shelter. His poor wife, however, perished. For a few moments she rushed after her husband, but evidently recollecting that there was still one of their children left in the house, she was seen to rush back again for its rescue. Alas! no sooner had she entered, than the flood of boiling lava rolled round the house, and it became their winding-sheet. Another, a little child, rushing headlong in terror to the hill, where a few of the people were elevated above the stream of death, stumbled over one of the steep cliffs overhanging the lake, and was supposed to have perished. A gracious Providence, however, had watched over the helpless little one. It was found two days afterwards, greatly exhausted, but still alive, suspended in the branches of a tree which grew out of the cliff side. Thus had it been saved not only from the fire, but also from being dashed in pieces, as it would have been, had it fallen to the bottom of the rugged cliff.

Elisha Tubou, the native manager of day-schools on the island, in a letter to the Rev. Richard Amos, referred in the following terms to the calamitous visitation: "I now make known what has happened to this land. On the 24th of June last, three dreadful earthquakes shook the island in the night. The earth then opened, and swallowed up a village. Twenty-five persons were consumed in the burning gulf, together with their dwelling-houses and chapel. Eighteen escaped to the mountains. A great part of the land is destroyed.

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We all expected death, and prayed for the coming of the 'John Wesley.' O, why did she not come? All the people here are afraid of the wrath of God. Sinners have confessed and forsaken their sins. God has shown mercy as well as wrath; and nearly all the people meet in class."

It is not to be wondered at that a deep, and wide-spread, religious awakening should have followed the solemn scenes attendant upon the eruption; and the first desire of the survivors of the destroyed village, and, indeed, of all the inhabitants, seemed to be to escape from the presence of a power so mighty and destructive. Hence it was but natural that they should long for the appearance of the Mission ship, which was expected about that time on her usual annual visit. That vessel was almost the only link of connexion they had with adjacent islands; and, had it arrived at the time, it would have afforded them the most likely mode of transference to another country.

As soon as the cooling of the surface permitted any exploration of the scene of the calamity, it was determined, by the chiefs of the island, to hold a religious service, as near as possible to the supposed site of the overthrown village. Accordingly a large assemblage of people met, courageously yet solemnly, under the shadow of the largest volcano, then still in action. John Latu, the then resident Assistant Missionary, delivered on the occasion a most touching and impressive discourse from these words: "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

After a considerable time had elapsed, the peo-

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22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

731 794 797 ple became more calm, and all idea of leaving their home was abandoned. The state of the island shows, however, that, at any moment, they may be exposed to the recurrence of similar, and perhaps even more fatal, visitations. Under these circumstances, it is satisfactory to know that a large proportion of the people are genuine Christian believers, and that even the unconverted among the community have the fear of God before their eyes, and are under daily religious instruction and influence of one kind or another.

133 In the beginning of the year 1854, while the writer was residing at Lifuka, in Haabai, another new volcano broke out, with great violence, on the Island of Late, which lies in latitude 18° 35′ S., and longitude 175° 16′ W. Although several weeks elapsed before correct information reached us of what had happened, yet, on the night of the eruption, the loud roaring of the volcano was heard by us at Lifuka, distant from Late about fifty miles. From the shore of our island, an immense pillar of smoke was seen during the day; and at night, the fire of the volcano was distinctly visible from several of the islands that had the advantage of a higher elevation than Lifuka. The position [797] of the island, and the direction of the prevailing wind, carried the effects of the eruption more towards Vavau than Haabai; and these were thus briefly described by the resident Missionary, the Rev. George Daniel.

"We have lately had an eruption at Late. I do not know whether you in Haabai would see anything of it; but here we have had a most fearful smothering. The people say that the fall of dust when Fonua Lei broke out, was nothing when com-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Niua Tobutabu]

797 to the entire satisfaction of every one, or even to our own, in every instance, in such short time, would have been almost impossible. We tried to do what was right, and we commended all our work to the blessing of the Most High. We found both chiefs and people willing to be instructed, and very anxious to act in accordance with the principles and teachings of God's word. With the Tui-Niua, Maatu, we were much pleased. He seemed [648] a truly godly and judicious man, and from our personal interviews with him, I have no reason to doubt the correctness of any of the particulars, which we have already related, respecting his escape from the murderous intentions of the Uveans.

797 Niua Tobutabu had been visited, for two years in succession, by terrific hurricanes, which destroyed 731 all the native produce. In the famine that ensued, a great many of the people died; and although things were mending when we arrived, there was still considerable poverty and suffering. We were exceedingly happy, therefore, in being able to land a large quantity of yams, which the Friendly Islanders had forwarded by the Mission ship, for the use of the Niua Tobutabu people; after which, we bore away, amid their prayers and benedictions, for Niua Foöu.

797 In any state of the weather, or of the sea, it is a 504 thing of no small difficulty to effect a landing upon this island, which we reached late in the afternoon of the day following our departure from Niua Tobutabu. There is not a single patch of sandy beach to be seen anywhere on the coast: nothing, indeed, but black and precipitous rocks. Sometimes the Mission ship has been brought to an anchor, in from seventy to ninety fathoms, in fine weather, and well

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Eua]

Of the two former, nothing need be said here, as they were small and unimportant; but a passing notice of Eua may complete our view of the Tonga group.

Several visits to this island, at different periods, enabled us to form a good opinion of its physical character and capabilities. Having been styled the "granary of Tonga," we expected to see it in a very high state of cultivation, but we found nothing peculiar in it in this respect. At present it has but a very small number of people upon it; and these, being cut off from foreign intercourse through the want of a harbour, have no inducement to cultivate the soil beyond the necessities arising for their own support. The beauties of the island are great, and its richness of soil for agricultural purposes unquestionable, but these lie undeveloped. In former days, when the population of the country was greater, large supplies of produce may have been carried to the adjoining main island of Tongatabu, especially in seasons of famine caused by drought or hurricanes. From the effects of the one the snug and lovely valleys and ravines of Eua would be sheltered; while its flowing rivulets and streams would counteract the evil consequences of the other, at times when Tongatabu itself might be lying in temporary desolation. Hence the dependence of the Tongans upon Eua, at such times, for food; and hence, probably, the reason why it was styled, magniloquently, their "granary."

One of the pleasantest Missionary trips I ever had was to this island, in company with the Rev. George Daniel, in the year 1851. We each took our own boat and boat's crew. The wind being

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

permanent settlement. The same is true for some of the smaller Ha'apai islands: they have been farmed from nearby islands, but have never supported permanent populations. In Vava'u, the uninhabited islands are often small, steep and rocky, while the small islands off Tongatapu which were once inhabited are today the preserves of sojourning fishermen. Of more interest is the large island of 'Eua (34 square miles), the reason for the small population of which has long been an enigma. The difficult passage to Tongatapu is said by Tongans to be the main reason for its low population. While this could deter intensive settlement a more likely factor, as Maude surmises, is the scarcity of seafoods. Maude, in seeking a rationale for adjacent areas of high and low density within the group, has suggested that densities are generally determined by a *balance* of both land and sea resources. Where sea resources are limited or access to them difficult, as in parts of eastern Ha'apai and Tongatapu, in the higher parts of 'Uta Vava'u, and in 'Eua, population densities are low; conversely, where the shores and reefs are highly productive, as in the smaller western islands of Ha'apai and the western tip of Tongatapu, densities are high. This, broadly, can be assumed to have influenced traditional settlement patterns, which only today are being modified as population increases and new influences, such as urbanism, take their effect.

Estimations of the size and distribution of population within the group prior to the first census (1921), of which there are no extant records, rely on what at best can be termed informed guesses, sometimes supported by mission returns and head counts. None of the censuses until 1956 can really be considered reliable. Of these earlier censuses McArthur states that fluctuations of the populations of individual islands "are such as to arouse considerable doubts of the accuracy of either the recording or summarising of the data."[11] Table 1 is presented with this warning heeded, but in the belief that several broad conclusions can be drawn from it.

This table shows an overall pattern of population decline and recovery common in the Pacific following contact with Europeans. Tupouniua has suggested three contact phases:[12]

1. *1643–1799*: A phase in which there is no record of—"large scale destruction through diseases, and wars were totally unknown. Presumably, therefore, there was a balanced and vigorous population with steady population growth."

2. *1799–1852*: "A phase of bewilderment and social disintegration marked by a sense of insecurity. There was much rivalry for power between chiefs that . . . ended in armed conflicts . . . (while) . . . several epidemics are reported to have occurred with heavy loss of life."

[11] McArthur (1967): 81.
[12] Tupouniua (1958): 17-18.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

McArthur has recalled in some detail evidence of loss of life during this period.[13]

Such contemporary observations as were made were not always supported by other evidence, but it can be assumed that the ravages of war and disease affected the various islands unevenly and at different times, epidemics probably having fewer widespread effects than in the larger islands of the Pacific; there was a high mortality rate, especially of infants; and, with few in the reproductive age groups, a sex imbalance, and later marriages (induced partly because of the "grim social code of the missionaries"), the population declined considerably.

Distribution of Population by Island Groups (percentages)

	Pre-contact[1]	1840[2]	1891[3]	1921[4]	1939[5]	1956[6]	1966[7]
Tongatapu	43.9	43.2	—	—	—	55.0	61.9
'Eua	2.0	0.8	—	—	—	3.4	4.4
Tongatapu and 'Eua	45.9	44.0	36.6	42.6	46.2	58.4	66.3
Ha'apai	21.9	21.6	28.2	25.2	21.9	17.5	13.7
Vava'u	21.9	21.6	26.5	24.4	24.0	22.0	17.5
Other[8]	10.4	12.4	8.7	7.8	7.9	2.2	2.6
Total population	29,700	18,500	19,968	24,935	34,130	56,838	77,429

[1] Estimated by Maude (1965): 27.
[2] Wilkes, cited by Maude: ibid.
[3] Missionary account. Census 1956: 17.
[4] Wood (1952) Appendix 6.
[5] Census 1956: 41.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Census 1966: 36.
[8] Niuafo'ou and Niuatoputapu. Niuafo'ou had no population in 1956.

3. *1852–* : "A phase of adjustment and recovery" dating from 1852 when the civil war ended, but probably having little effect on growth until the 1890s. From this date the population grew "slowly but irregularly" from some 20,000 in 1891 to about 24,000 in 1918, with occasional epidemics still taking a large toll of life. The increased growth rate in recent years, due largely to improved health measures and the absence of epidemics, has produced a population at least double the most generous estimates given for the pre-contact period. Thus between 1891 and 1931, the annual rate of increase was 1.1 percent; between 1931 and 1956, 3.1 percent, and between 1956 and 1966, 3.6 percent. This increase, together with the marked movement of population to Tongatapu referred to below, suggests that Tonga has now entered a phase of dynamic growth. Tupouniua's phase of "adjustment and recovery" can be said to have ended in the 1940s.[14]

[13] McArthur (1956): 202-206; and (1967): 68-75.
[14] —— (1967): 96. An epidemic of measles in 1893 is reported to have killed a twentieth of the population, and an influenza epidemic in 1918 a tenth of the population of some islands.

161 increased by 36.2%, the increase was not uniform throughout
162 the islands. On the contrary, there was an absolute decrease in population on nine islands, and only two islands of more than one square mile in area had an increase in population of more than 20% over the figure for 1956. These are the islands of Tongatapu and 'Eua.

131 'Eua is a large island a few miles to the south-east
133 of Tongatapu. Because of intervening reefs, it can be
[50] reached only by a roundabout passage after a very rough
[313] sea-voyage of about five hours. The island rises in a series of rocky terraces to about 1,000 feet above sea level, with steep valleys that are the major source of timber in Tonga, leaving relatively little land suitable for cultivation. For these reasons, the island is not very attractive
161 for settlement. At the time of the census of 1939, the
162 population of 'Eua was only 480. After a volcanic eruption
164 on the northernmost island of Niuafo'ou in 1946, many of
[731] the people of that island were settled on 'Eua; at the census of 1956, more than 40% of the population of 'Eua over the age of nine had been born on Niuafo'ou. Besides this Niuafo'ou influx, the increase in the population of 'Eua is accounted for largely by migration from other islands,
161 especially by men seeking land. Even so, with an intercensal
162 population increase of 76.2%, the density of population on 'Eua in 1966 was only 100 per square mile, almost the lowest
[133] of any island in Tonga. Moreover, while there is still some

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

part Sand but not without some Coral rock. This place is much better sheltered than where we last lay, but between the two is a place much better than either.[1]

Lefooga and Ooleva are divided from each other by a reef of Coral rock which dryes at low water so that one may walk from the one to the other without weting a foot. This last island is as barren as the other is fertile, producing nothing but a few scurvy trees and shrubs and wholy without Inhabitants.[2]

TUESDAY 27*th*. At day break the next Morning I made the Signal to wiegh, and as I intended to attempt a passage to Anamocka by the sw in amongst the islands, I sent the Master away in a boat to Sound before the Ships. But before we could get under sail, the wind became unsettled and made it unsafe to attempt a passage this way till we were better acquainted with it or had a steady wind. I therefore lay fast and made the sign[1] for the Master to return, and afterwards sent him and the Master of the Discovery, each in a boat to examine the Channels as far as they could allowing time to return on board before dark. The wind was unsettled all day and blew in squals with some Showers of rain. About Noon a large sailing Canoe came under our Stern in which the Indians on board told us was *Fattafee Polaho* King of all the Isles;[2] we had reason to doubt this, but they stood to it and now for the first time told us that Feenough was not the King. As it was my intrest as well as inclination to pay my Court to all these great men, without enquiring into the legality of their titles, I sent a boat to bring him on board as I understood he wanted to come. He brought with him as a present to me two good fat hogs, though not so fat as himself, for he was the most corperate plump fellow we had met with. I found him to be a Sedate sensible man, he viewed the Ship and the several new objects with uncommon attention, and asked several pertinent questions one of which was[3] what brought us to these islands'.[4] After he had satisfied

[1] The anchorage, one takes it, off Pangai, the little township of Lifuka, on the shores of a distinct bay (see Chart XLVI). But though the anchorage is good, Cook would have found an embarrassing number of reefs and shoals interposing.

[2] 'Olaiva although as large an island as Laifooga, is intirely uncultivated & almost uninhabited, only a few fishermen live in it. it seems a sandy poor soil in general, but we saw that formerly it had not been intirely neglected, there being appearances of former cultivation, we understood that from terrible Lightning all the possessions of the inhabitants were destroy'd, some kill'd, & the state of the remains of part of the coconut trees we saw, was occasion'd by that lightning; since which no one had chose to make plantations.' —King, 27 May.

[3] Fatafehi Paulaho, 36th Tu'i Tonga, c. 1770–84. Fatafehi was a 'family name' of the Tu'i Tonga—not a 'surname', but one much used among the members of his chiefly family.

[4] 'he now ask'd our business there, where we came from, & where we were going, questions which had never been put to us before; to satisfy him, a map was produced & explaind to him, & by his explaining it again to his followers, he shew'd that he was

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER II

ENVIRONMENTAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF TONGAN DANCE

GEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

131 The Tongan archipelago, last of the Polynesian Kingdoms, lies in the South Pacific approximately between 18° and 23° south latitude and 173° and 176° west longitude, southeast of Fiji and southwest of Samoa (see map, Figure 2.1). Tonga's 269 square miles are divided among some 150 islands, many of which are uninhabited.

133 Tonga is little known to the Western world except for the geological fame of several of its volcanic islands on the Westerly long axis of the group which are part of a volcanic chain running from New Zealand to Samoa through the Kermandec Islands. Volcanic activity still occurs both above and below the surface of the sea. About midway along this line of islands lie Kao and Tofua. Kao, an extinct crater reaching a height of 3,380 feet, is one of the few examples in the world of a perfect volcanic cone. Tofua, which is flatter and still occasionally erupts, is well known because it was off the coast of Tofua that the mutiny on the Bounty took place. Fonuafo'ou (Falcon Island) is well known because, due to volcanic activity and erosion, it alternates being above and below the surface of the sea.

● 781 [829] To the Tongans the most important volcanic island is Niuafo'ou. The disastrous eruption in 1946 is still vivid in their minds as it necessitated the evacuation of the people to Tongatapu and 'Eua.

197 Niuafo'ouans are recognized as being 'different' because of their

[p. 12]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 141

262 pineapple and papaya are eaten in season, and kava is widely grown.
[241] Pigs and chickens thrive and, along with fish and tinned corned beef,
[231] form the main protein in the Tongan diet.

131 Geographically and administratively the Tongan islands can be divided into three main groups (see map, Figure 2.2). Tongatapu and
[133] 'Eua in the south have by far the largest land area. The central Ha'apai group consists of small coral limestone islands. Lifuka, largest of the Ha'apai group, is 4 1/4 miles long and 1 1/2 miles at its broadest place. The Vava'u group lies 60 miles northeast of
[504] Ha'apai and consists of one large and several small islands. Neiafu harbor, Vava'u, is one of the best land-locked harbors in the South Pacific. In addition to these three main groups there are outlying islands to the north, including Niuafo'ou, Niuatoputapu, Tafahi, Toku, and Fonualei.

192 The temperature varies from the low 50°s to 90°, the humidity is usually very high, the mean being almost 80°. Annual rainfall is about 65 inches per year. There is usually a definite wet season from December to April and often a drought between October and December.
[312] Until recently all fresh water was rainwater. Tonga is subject to
[731] hurricanes and not infrequently thousands of coconut and banana trees, the basis of their cash economy, are ruined.

PEOPLE AND LANGUAGE

161 This is the geographical setting in which nearly 70,000 people play their daily social roles. The figures of the last Tongan census,

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

culture it is easier to gain an awareness of the less obvious aspects of man/land relationships when all—or a large number of—households from the same village are studied than when individual, widely-scattered households are surveyed largely in isolation from the community of which they form a part. Furthermore, a geographer is frequently interested in comparisons between areas rather than in data aggregated over a wide area, and village communities, each with its own territory, form convenient units for comparison. Consequently, while an overall random sample survey might have produced results with a higher degree of statistical validity when generalized to the whole of Tonga, this would have been at the cost of a lower level of understanding of some of the complexities of man/land relationships.

The main problem in a village approach is the choice of villages. In general, the villages studied were selected in an attempt to determine the effect of one or more variables on other variables in the system of man/land relationships; they were not chosen simply to represent 'typical' Tongan conditions, and therefore the data obtained from them cannot be used to calculate average values for Tonga. In Tongatapu, the four villages surveyed by means of a general household questionnaire were chosen to cover the major variations in population density and land-tenure conditions in the island. The form used included questions on household composition, land, agricultural activities and household income. In Ha'apai the questions on sources of income were dropped, as a hurricane had largely destroyed cash cropping in the group shortly before the time of field research, and more specialized surveys of land holding and food cropping were carried out instead. No detailed surveys were conducted in Vava'u, partly because of the even greater destruction of cash cropping there, and partly because the emphasis in research was on areas of high population density, and in Vava'u population densities are mostly below the national average.

LAND RESOURCES

The three main island groups, Tongatapu, Ha'apai and Vava'u, are all of raised limestone formation. Tongatapu has a flat to gently undulating surface, with only a few small hills rising just above the tops of the coconut palms. The islands of Ha'apai are small, low and scattered, except for the outlying high volcanic peaks of Tofua and

67: Maude . K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

The pattern of internal migration, however, shows more sensitive response to population pressure, particularly in Ha'apai. The basic reason for migration in Tonga is the lack of opportunities to earn money in the outer islands as compared with Tongatapu, but the influence of land shortage is indicated by the fact that, within Ha'apai, population growth between 1956 and 1966 in each island tended to be inversely proportional to the 1956 population density (Fig. 7.2). The three islands which lie furthest from the general trend (circled in Fig. 7.2) all have residents who utilize land on the nearby high island of Tofua, and their effective population densities are therefore lower than those shown. It may be hypothesized that the higher the population density the harder it is for men, particularly those without their own allotments, to achieve a satisfactory cash-crop income, and in Ha'apai this problem is made greater by the fact that until recently cash cropping was largely restricted to coconuts, while opportunities for wage employment in the group have always been very limited. Of 20 cases of migration collected in Holopeka (Ha'apai), for instance, 18 were men without allotments, and 11 of these had left their village at least partly in the hope of obtaining land. That landlessness is not the only reason for migration, however, is shown in the fact noted earlier that those who had left Ha'afeva (Ha'apai) in 1966 included nearly half the men who already held land on the island. Employment following education on the main island, dissatisfaction with village life, a desire to take advantage of the better opportunities to earn money in Tongatapu or to ensure a better education for one's children are all important reasons for movement, while in Vava'u the damage caused to the economy by the 1961 hurricane seems to have been the major determinant of migration from that group in the early 1960s. Nevertheless, the pattern of migration from Ha'apai outlined earlier does demonstrate the significance of land shortage as a factor, and suggests that population pressure is sufficiently felt by many Tongans to stimulate them to leave their home village.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding sections we have examined a number of facets of the man/land system in Tonga. Symptoms of stress or pressure were found in land problems, the fallow vegetation, the nutrient status of the soil, cash-crop incomes and internal migration, and these point

241 planted is usually of less importance than the first and so on until the land is returned to fallow status. A typical garden sequence is yam ('ufi), perhaps two crops in succession of taro (talo), and then cassava (manioke) is planted until the plot is exhausted. The amount of care given a garden is an indication not only of the amount of care a certain crop might need, but also indicates the social value derivable from that crop. Thus yams receive more care than taro, and so on.

[412] All gardening done in Puke is accomplished with the use of three hand tools: the ubiquitous bush knife, the push hoe, and a long-handled spade. Fallow periods plus whatever nutrients the soil might receive from burning the brush before a first planting are the only aids utilized to refurbish the soil. Commercial fertilizers provided free by [654] the Agricultural Board are, however, now being used on palms. Ususally no effort is made to prevent wandering animals from a garden and pigs sometimes do extensive damage.

[731] In some years droughts threaten crops in the dry, cool months from [732] May to November, but irrigation is not practiced and is not practical [312] because of limited sources of water.

241 Most garden work is accomplished by men but wives often assist,
461 particularly in weeding. A Tongan anecdote proclaims that if a man takes his wife to the garden and has her work so that his work will take him toward her, he will be able to work much faster; but the situations both explicit and implicit in their theory are more fiction than real. [476] Men usually do choose to work together with at least one other man, and work groups of two to four are quite common. Sociability is important

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

Laportea harveyi, Rhus taitensis, Alphitonia zizyphoides, Dysoxylum spp., and other trees may reach considerable size. Tongatapu and 'Eua are the only permanently inhabited islands of the Tongatapu group.

The central, or Ha'apai, group is about 90 miles from Tongatapu. It includes the main islands of Lifuka, the former capital and site of the Chief's Palace; Nomuka; Kao; Tofua; and a large number of smaller islands, many of which now support no permanent inhabitants.

Vava'u, the largest and principal island of the Vava'u group, has an area of approximately 35 square miles and reaches an altitude of about 150 meters along the precipitous northern coast. Its surface is uneven and the southern, very irregularly and deeply indented coastline provides a beautiful and completely land-locked harbor, where the principal town of Neiafu is situated. At the northwestern part of the island is a lake of brackish water and nearby is a rather large swamp of marshy area unique in the islands. Another, a large central lake connected at one point with the sea during high water, is found on the island of Nomuka in the Ha'apai group. Large crater lakes also occur on Tofua and on Niuafo'ou. Ocean-going steamers are able to dock at Neiafu in Vava'u and at Nuku'alofa on Tongatapu. Cutters and interisland boats can reach a jetty at the village of Pangai on Lifuka Island in the Ha'apai group, and it is possible for very small boats to make a landing at a makeshift dock on 'Eua. And it is usually possible, in moderate seas, to get ashore from canoes or other small boats on the other low coral islands. It is much more difficult, however, to land on the volcanic islands of Tofua, Kao, Late, Niuafo'ou, or Tafahi where most of the coast is steep and abrupt and where protecting reefs are lacking or do not break the often strong wave action. These islands can be reached only by canoe or small boat and under most favorable weather conditions, or by swimming from larger boats which must stand well off shore for safety.

The population of Tonga is nearly 50,000. It is heavily concentrated on the islands of 'Eua, Tongatapu, Nomuka, Lifuka, and Vava'u and some of the smaller adjacent islands. The volcanic islands of 'Ata, Tofua, Kao, Late, and Niuafo'ou have few or no permanent inhabitants at the present time. The former population of about 1,300 on Niuafo'ou was evacuated after the disastrous volcanic eruption in 1946, and at present makes up a large part of the population on 'Eua. (See figure 2.)

The more heavily populated islands show a high percentage of land utilization, the indigenous plant species surviving only in occasional uncultivatable areas, usually near the sea. Everywhere grows a number of species of greater or lesser usefulness presumably brought to the islands by the aborigines as they arrived in Tonga from other islands. These species predominantly show Asiatic, African, or Malaysian origin. A possible exception is the sweet potato, and there is considerable question as to how it reached Polynesia. In this group one may include that most useful of all plants for island peoples, the coconut.

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

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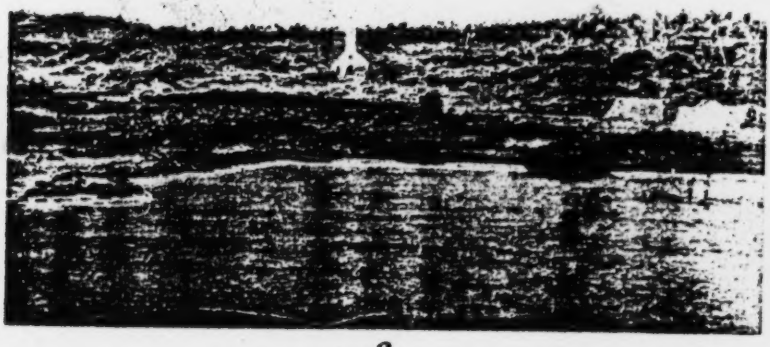

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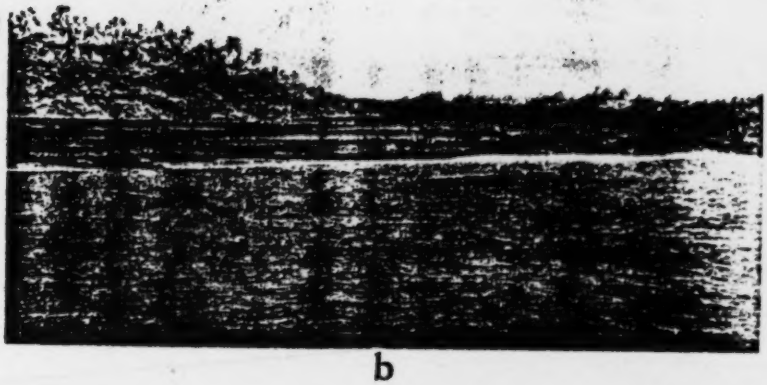

b

FIGURE 2.—a, remains of church in village on Niuafo'ou Island destroyed by 1946 eruption (note lava flow which reached sea); vegetation is rapidly pioneering on older flows. Houses on right are used by temporary visitors who come to cut copra. b, lava flow on island of Niuafo'ou, where an extensive beach of "black sand" has been formed. Background trees at right form large grove of *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

[137]

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

782 deities in Pulotu. *Kau'inima* (the cutting off of fingers as a [793] sacrifice) and even human sacrifices were often given to the gods [787] in order to save the life of a chief. In April 1842 the Reverend John Thomas wrote to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Committee in London:

> 782 304 755 January 10th, 1842, died Fatu, the chief of the Mua. His illness was of many weeks continuance . . . At length it was feared that he would not recover; and various means were used by Heathens, but to no purpose. On the 7th of January, a youth named Feheko, a Chief's son, about twelve years of age, was offered in sacrifice to the gods. His own father and another man strangled him; but all was in vain. (*W-M Mag.* 1843:258)

784 So it was that natural disaster, disease, death and famine were 731 attributed to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the spirits of dead relatives.

753 761 Sacred houses were built in sacred places, mostly the burial places of the chiefly ancestors, where offerings and prayers were made to the gods through the medium of the priests. Because of 778 their prestige and importance the priests received food and other [793] gifts from the people (Watkin, Journal, 7 Feb. 1843). The sacred places were often used by wrongdoers, or those who were being pursued by a chief, as places of refuge. The most famous of these sanctuaries was that of the god Tāufa'itahi, whose priest was Kautai at Mu'a (Gifford 1929:300; Blacket 1914:121-3). The missionary, Walter Lawry, recorded in his diary (9 Dec. 1822) how Fatu, the chief with whom he stayed at Mu'a, became very angry when Lawry reported to him the danger to which he (Lawry) and his family had been exposed by 'the savage wantonness of several natives', and that 'the offenders took shelter in the Hoofanga, to beg pardon of the gods; this saved them from being [688] killed at once'. In these sanctuaries the criminal was safe from attack, because any violation of these places was so serious a crime that a human life would have to be offered in atonement. (Martin 1827, I:190).

775 Pulotu was thought to be an island to the west of Tongatapu [565] where anything mortal could not survive. The chiefs considered that the commoners had no place there. Hence commoners were

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

were told that they had souls after all, and like the chiefs they had every right to life after death. Their enthusiasm may be illustrated by the testimony of Ilaiakimi Tāufa recorded by the Reverend R. Young (1854:246) during his visit to Tonga in 1853:

> When the Gospel reached Tonga I heard, and was convinced of its truth, but not saved. I was converted at the great revival here. In reading the book of the Prophet Isaiah, I was powerfully impressed . . . one night it appeared to me as though a light shone within, and brought to my view my many sins . . . I saw that Christ alone could save, and that nothing else was sufficient for me. The Lord saved me: when I felt an immediate desire to praise him, and to show others the way to that good which I had obtained.

Many became very devout and sincere, and some were even prepared to give up everything they had for their faith.

It was reported that during an eruption at Niua Fo'ou friends offered to take away the native missionary, Semisi Fonua, who was looking after the work on the island, but he resolved to remain with his flock, even if he should perish with them. 'I did not come here to live only,' he replied, 'but [if necessary] to die. Just so, I am not [so much] afraid of this burning as I am afraid of meeting Jehovah in the end of time. Therefore I shall remain' (Dyson, Papers of . . ., VI:67). Such was the spirit and devotion of many of the Tongan converts who became a tremendous asset to the mission work.

The medical part of the missionaries' work continued to assume greater importance. It increasingly attracted people to the Society, who would not have gone a mile to hear a sermon, but who travelled many miles for a dose of medicine. Accordingly, dispensary hours became part of the regular routine. Some missionaries spent two hours every morning on clinical work. The success of the missionaries' medicine dealt a fatal blow to heathenism, for while it was more difficult for the Tongans to comprehend many of the abstract principles of Christianity, they could easily see the beneficial effects of medicine, especially when diseases were so prevalent and the death rate was so high. Many renounced their gods and still more began to doubt their long-established traditional beliefs.

In spite of the urgency placed on the translation of the Bible,

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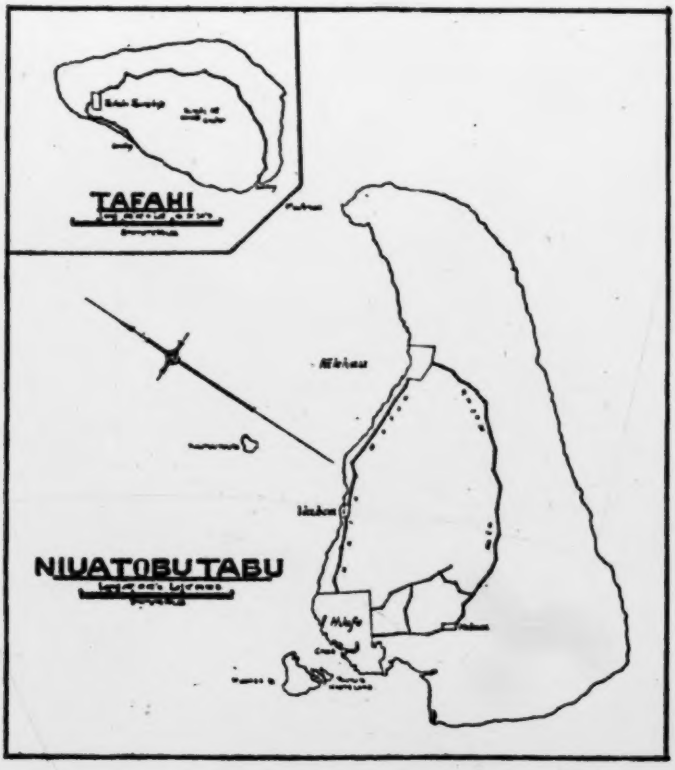

(9) NIUA TOBUTABU is 167 miles north of Vava'u. The island may be classed as of volcanic formation though there is no sign of any recent activity there. Niua Tobutabu is generally flat but rises to a hill 350 feet high in the centre. The area is nearly six square miles, and there are four villages with a population of 743. The island is subject to hurricanes, the last severe one having taken place on 26th December, 1930. The rhinoceros beetle which entered from Samoa threatened to destroy the coconuts within recent years, but it has now been exterminated. There are two large stones on the island, called Fakafafa, said by a legend to have been placed there by Maui. A spring with its small stream, Niutoua, is an unusual sight in Tonga. The first Englishman who came to Tonga, Captain Wallis, in 1767, named Niua Tobutabu Keppel and Tafahi Boscawen, after two English admirals, and Keppel is the name still often used by Europeans for the former island.

(10) TAFAHI is an extinct volcano with an elevation of 2,000 feet, a cone-shaped and very rocky island containing one small village. Tafahi was the first part of the whole group seen by Europeans, the Dutch voyagers, Schouten and Lemaire, in 1616. They called Tafahi Cocos Island because of its trees, and Niua Tobutabu Traitors' Island because of the treacherous attack made on them by Ma'atu and his people.

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

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NIUA FO'OU.

LAT. 15° 36′ S. LONG. 175° 38′ W.

131 (11) NIUA FO'OU is the most remote island of the group, being much closer to Samoa and Fiji than to Togatabu. It is 109 miles W.N.W. [133] of Niua Tobutabu and 211 miles N.W. of Vava'u. Niua Fo'ou is almost circular and is 19 square miles in extent, including the lakes which cover six square miles. It rises to 588 feet and has a dangerous, dormant 133 volcano whose more recent eruptions have occurred in 1853 (when 25 731 people were killed), in 1867, 1886, 1912 and 1929. The village of Ahau was destroyed in 1853 and Futu in 1929, and both sites have been aban- [166] doned.

The last eruption is typical. On 25th July, 1929, a line of small craters opened up across the island on the western side, from the south-west coast to the north-west; these craters were so close that they formed almost a continuous line. Lava flowed down the western slopes to the sea, destroying nearly every building in Futu, and covering 2,000 acres which will be useless for cultivation for many years. The harbour at Futu is now cut off by the great lava-field. The people of Futu barely [166] escaped with their lives and lost all their goods. They have since built a new village not far from Agaha named 'Alele'uta.

133 There are little islands in the lakes of Niua Fo'ou and little craters in those islands also. In some places in the lakes hot springs have been found, and in others the depth cannot be ascertained.

000 American and New Zealand astronomers observed the total eclipse of the sun at Niua Fo'ou on 22nd October, 1930.

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

Disastrous hurricanes frequently occur, and the island has been ravaged as recently as December, 1930, February, 1931, and March, 1932. During the hurricane season Niua Fo'ou is not visited by small craft. Though the island has been so repeatedly devastated by eruptions and storms, and its condition seems to be more dangerous than that, for instance, of the uninhabited large island of Tofua, still there is no intention of abandoning it for a safer home closer to the main islands of the group.

Its present population is 1,291. The inhabitants are a distinct type, with local variations of the Tongan language due to ancient contact with Samoa and Uvea, but more intercourse with the rest of the Tongan group is causing these old words to fall into comparative disuse.

The "Tin-can Mail" is Niua Fo'ou's claim to distinction. As the harbour at Agaha is inconvenient, and the sea is generally too rough for canoes, the mail is taken by swimmers to the steamer which passes from Samoa to Fiji. The outgoing mail is generally wrapped in oiled paper and tied to sticks, and the inward mail is brought back from the steamer in a sealed tin-can.

THE CHIEF CORAL ISLANDS, WITH SCENIC AND HISTORIC PLACES.

'EUA. This island, which is of great age geologically, reaches a height of 1,078 feet, and has an area of 33 square miles. Although it is as large as Vava'u and contains fertile soil in abundance, its population of 348 is most disproportionate. Its inadequate harbour at 'Ohonua and the sometimes dangerous channel between the island and Togatabu, though disadvantageous to the progress of 'Eua, do not really explain the decline in its population; this is due rather to the proximity of Nuku'alofa with its attractions. Considering that many small islands in Ha'abai support numerous taxpayers who have no allotments, the neglect of 'Eua is regrettable.

'Eua was called Middelburg by its discoverer, Tasman, and Cook had a high opinion of its beauty and fertility. This island is unique in several respects. It has several small creeks which rise from springs in the hillsides and descend to the western shore;

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

'Uiha is the burial-place of great chiefs, including Tubouniua, Tubouto'a, Tevita 'Uga and Vuna. The finest mound ('eji) in Tonga, named Maka Hokovalu, is situated on the north-west of this island. The village of 'Uiha also boasts six cannon taken from a kidnapping ship which met its merited doom while making a raid on the island about the middle of the 19th century.

Tugua was the residence of the highest personage in ancient Tongan society, the Tamaha.

Nomuka, in the south of the group, was visited by more voyagers than any other island in Tonga. The pond of fresh water from which Tasman, Cook, Bligh and others took supplies is readily pointed out.

Navigation lights have been placed at Muifuiva, in the south, and at Muitoa, Ha'ano, in the north of Ha'abai. Some islands cannot be approached in bad weather. Many of the smallest ones are uninhabited, though there are various traces of former habitation or of use for plantations or burial-places at Ofolaga, Kelefesia and the 'Otu Tolu.

VAVA'U OR HA'AFULUHAO. Three-fifths of this beautiful northern group is in one island, 'Uta Vava'u, but the remaining islands are only separated from the mainland by narrow channels. All these islands are comparatively high and undulating, thickly-wooded and very fertile. The highest point is 670 feet. From the hill called Talau, behind the chief town, Neiafu, a magnificent panorama can be obtained, embracing all the islands in the group. Along the northern coast of the main island there are very fine views from the high cliffs at the seat ('eji) of Salote near Hologa and at Ha'alaufuli.

The harbour of the main island is one of the most picturesque in the Pacific, though shallows and sandbanks make navigation difficult in some places. The Swallows' Cave, often visited by tourists, is on the north of Kaba. The secret cave, entered only by diving, which Mariner's story and Byron's poem have made famous, is situated on the north of the island of Nuababu ; here the young chief left his bride until they could embark for Fiji and be safe from the wrath of their relatives.

Neiafu, the port and residence of the governor, is beautifully situated, and good roads radiate from this centre. Until recently at least the average prosperity of the natives in Vava'u was rather higher than in other parts of the group, and they have expended their resources on European houses and European food to a greater extent than elsewhere. Vava'u is not as subject to hurricanes as the more northerly islands of Niua Fo'ou and Niua Tobutabu, but nevertheless it has suffered rather frequently, the last occasion being 13th March, 1932.

It is remarkable that Vava'u was the last part of Tonga to be discovered, the honour falling to the Spaniard, Maurelle, in 1781.

Various places recall the incidents mentioned in Mariner's history, and especially Feletoa, where the great fight of Finau Ulukalala II took place and where Finau himself was buried in 1809. Parts of the great trench, and also a cave and underground river, may be seen at Feletoa.

An ancient but incredible tradition states that a long wall of coral stones at Makave, known as the Kilikilitefua, was made by casting a stone for every first-born son in the district.

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

VOLCANOES.

The active volcanoes are Tofua and Fonua Fo'ou (Falcon Island), which have been described. Niua Fo'ou erupts every few years and is classed as dormant. Late and Fonualei may be called dormant, though many years have elapsed since they last erupted. 'Ata, Huga Ha'abai, Huga Toga, Kao and Tafahi are quite extinct. Submarine eruptions have been reported in recent years south-west and north-west of Togatabu, between 'Ata and Huga Toga.

LAKES.

In the craters of Tofua and Niua Fo'ou there are fairly large lakes, the lake in Tofua covering over three square miles, and those in Niua Fo'ou totalling six square miles. There is a shallow, salt lake or lagoon in Nomuka, 443 acres in extent; this lake is remarkable for its fish ('ava) which remain fresh for two or three days. There is also a small and fairly shallow lake in south-west Vava'u.

Except small creeks which flow from springs in 'Eua, and one in Niua Tobutabu, there are no rivers in the Tongan group, owing to the islands being small and mostly flat. Consequently, there is no wild animal life, and birds are comparatively few.

CLIMATE, ETC.

The climate of Tonga is semi-tropical and not as hot as Fiji and Samoa. Nevertheless, in midsummer the humidity is fairly severe, especially in the northern islands. Cool nights are generally experienced in Togatabu and 'Eua, and, compared with conditions in many other Pacific Island groups, the climate throughout Tonga is healthy.

The rainfall is fairly heavy, but much less than in Fiji and Samoa. The wet season is from the end of December to April; short but injurious droughts are sometimes experienced, more especially during the period October–December. The soil on coral islands is very porous, and water can be obtained by digging wells, but under modern conditions the people rely entirely on cement cisterns for drinking purposes.

Systematic meteorological records have been taken at Nuku'alofa only during the last six years (a comparatively dry period), and these include the following:—

Temperature:	Maximum,	90.4 degrees (January, 1930).
	Minimum,	51 degrees (July, 1930).
	Mean,	74.6 degrees.
Humidity:	Maximum,	100% on several occasions.
	Minimum,	49%
	Mean,	76.9%
Annual rainfall:	Maximum,	74.39 inches (1927).
	Minimum,	40.66 inches (1930).
	Mean,	62.9 inches.

Greatest number of days on which rain fell in one year: 193 (1927).
Least number of days on which rain fell in one year: 153 (1930).
Most rain in any 24-hour period: 8.52 inches (June, 1931).

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

132 The prevailing winds, which considerably temper the heat, are the South-East Trade Winds. The ocean-currents are also from the south-
133 east; interesting proof is found in the fact that wreckage from the steamer "Tahiti," which foundered about 500 miles south-east of Togatabu in August, 1930, had drifted to the east coasts of Vava'u and the Ha'abai islands by the following December.

132 Hurricanes are seldom experienced in Togatabu, but they some-
731 times occur in the northern islands where they work great havoc to plantations and buildings. The most disastrous hurricanes of recent years happened in 1912 and 1913 in Vava'u and Ha'abai. Niua Fo'ou was ravaged by successive blows in December, 1930, February, 1931, and March, 1932, and the hurricane of December, 1930, destroyed almost every house in Niua Tobutabu.

731 Earthquakes are fairly common but are not severe, as a rule.
133 Instances of damage caused by tidal waves accompanying shakes are recorded in some places such as Lifuka and 'Uiha, low islands of Ha'abai.

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136 ## ANIMALS AND PLANTS.

23 Pigs, fowls and rats seem to have been brought to Tonga many
[439] centuries ago; as already noticed, Tasman, Cook and other voyagers
[175] exchanged iron goods for pigs and fowls. Hunting rats was a favourite
[224] sport of the chiefly archers in former times. Pigs and fowls still form the
[262] only meat-diet of the village-people. Their gardens are often spoiled by roving pigs; and these creatures infest some uninhabited islands such as Tofua, while the distant island of 'Ata swarms with fowls. Snakes
136 are unknown, but there are several varieties of lizard, including a green lizard (fokai). There are numerous insect pests, such as centipedes and mosquitoes.

23 Europeans have introduced horses, cows, goats, turkeys, etc.
[175] Cook presented the first horses, cows and sheep to Bau, Maealiuaki and
[177] Finau in 1777; the cattle were called Cook's "pigs" (buaka Tute) by the natives, a circumstance which has given rise to the fiction that Cook brought pigs to Tonga. These islands are not very suitable for sheep.

Government statistics show the following animals in Tonga in 1931:—7,467 horses, 1,661 cattle, 7 sheep, 18,231 pigs, 4,028 dogs, and 2,148 goats.

136 In 'Eua there is a green parrot which will not breed if taken else-
[237] where. Probably the strangest bird in the group is the megapodius
[566] (malau) at Niua Fo'ou which flies badly and leaves unusually large eggs to be hatched in the sand; this bird is also found in the Solomon Islands but nowhere between that group and Niua Fo'ou. The tavake is a bird whose blood-red tail-feathers were worn only by chiefs. As previously stated, the absence of running water accounts for the rather small number of birds in the group.

Reference has already been made to the large number of flying-foxes which find sanctuary at Kolovai, in Western Togatabu.

226 The sea everywhere abounds in fish, and sharks are plentiful. The people are expert fishermen, but of all their methods none is stranger

132 out the year (Table 2) and have a definite moderating effect on the yearly temperature range. From May to November, the winds blow mainly from the east-southeast, but during the

Table 2. Mean annual frequencies of wind directions (speeds over 3 knots) at Nuku'alofa (1963-1970).

	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW
%	6	9	38	26	14	3	3	2

"hurricane season" (from late November to early April) they commonly blow from the east. During this same season, strong winds accompanied by heavy rain occasionally blow from the north or northeast. There is also a period from May to September when southerly winds often predominate.

The mean wind speed throughout the year is 9 knots and the mean range between the calmest and windiest month is only 5 knots. Heavy winds associated with tropical cyclonic activity are occasionally experienced from late November to early April. The frequency of these tropical cyclones is much greater in the northern Tongan islands than in Tongatapu (Cumberland, 1961:16). Nevertheless, these heavy winds, which are referred to by the Tongans as afa, occasionally cause considerable agricultural damage on Tongatapu. Since 1951, there were three tropical cyclones with winds from 40 to over 60 knots. These destroyed, respectively, almost 100%, 50, 75% of the currently

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731
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[821]

bearing banana trees as well as many green coconuts and other food crops in the eastern parts of Tongatapu (Tonga Chronical; January 17, 1960:1, November 27, 1964: 1; and January 16, 1970: 1). Associated with these winds are heavy rains, which add to the damage by loosening the soil and root systems of plants.

Although the cyclonic afa is the most common gale force wind, there are also infrequent local whirlwinds, known as 'ahiohio, which cause considerable damage. Such an 'ahiohio hit the southern islands of the Ha'apai group in January 1968 and destroyed 90 percent of the banana crop as well as coconut trees, breadfruit trees, and other valuable subsistence food crops (Tonga Chronicle, February 2, 1968: 1 and 8).

Rainfall

Seasonality in Tonga, as in other tropical areas, is based more on rainfall than on temperature differences. The mean annual rainfall for Tongatapu is 74 inches (187 centimeters) per year, most coming between late November and early April (Table 3). The rainiest year on record was 1971 with 114 inches (291 centimeters). The driest was 1946 with 39 inches (99 centimeters). The wettest day on record was January 24, 1952 with 11 inches (28 centimeters) of rain. The average annual number of rainy days (more than 0.01 inches or 0.025 centimeters) is 167.

The cyclonic storms, although much more severe and harmful to the agricultural economy, are infrequent and account for only a small proportion of the total rainfall over a period of years. Local convectional rainfall also contributes to the annual total.

Although, on the average, there are wet and dry seasons, there is considerable variability from year to year and rainfall is often unreliable (Figure 6). Periods of drought are often experienced between April and December, which affect copra yields, banana production, and subsistence crops. These periods of drought generally last no longer than one or two months, but even spells of one to two weeks can be detrimental to agriculture owing to the free-draining nature of the soil.

The unpredictable rainfall regime on Tongatapu also has periods of excessively heavy rain, which reduce yields of important tree crops. In 1972, for example, heavy rains during the flowering period of mango trees (Mangifera indica), according to Tongan informants, reduced the usually abundant mango crop on Tongatapu by an estimated 95 percent.

Despite occasional adverse conditions, the rainfall of Tongatapu is adequate to support not only the plant assemblages of the traditional Tongan agricultural system but also many introduced crops. Moreover, this rainfall, is uniformly distributed throughout Tongatapu owing to the absence of significant topographic differences.

245 gence Division, 1944:81). The banana industry has since
439 experienced numerous problems and there has been considerable fluctuation in exports (Table 26). The drop in
245 production in 1963 was a result of cyclone damage, while the
731 drop in 1952 resulted from a combination of drought in late
132 1951 and high winds in January 1952 (Tonga Produce Board, 1953 and 1964:1).

245 In addition to climatic variables, the banana industry
439 has been susceptible to a great variety of problems,
[655] including shipping strikes, low prices to growers due to excessive overhead costs of the Produce Board, restrictive quota system, poor quality packing by growers, and, most recently, disease. In 1951, as a result of waterfront strike in New Zealand, no vessels arrived during March and there was an estimated export loss of 20,000 to 30,000 cases (Tonga Produce Board, 1952).

In 1961 and 1962, banana quotas were reduced by New Zealand, owing to balance of payments problems (Maude, 1965: 150). Trial shipments were then made to Japan in an effort to open new markets and in 1964 four shipments were
[655] consigned to Japan. In many cases, farmers accused the Produce Board of favoritism in assigning quotas. In 1966, owing to floods in the Fiji Islands and a hurricane in Samoa, these two areas could not fulfill their New Zealand quotas and Tonga was free to ship as many bananas as possible. This eliminated the attractiveness of shipping to

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1800-

Tongatapu. If Tahiti had proved an unsuitable field and if conditions in Tongatapu were more favourable, he was instructed to take all the missionaries to Tongatapu "as a refuge for the whole of our brethren".(3) Instead of being able to fulfil these instructions he found that the Mission in Tongatapu had ended in complete failure.

Vason, who had accompanied Finau 'Ulukalala to Vava'u after a lull in the fighting in Tongatapu, was able to get a passage on the same ship, *Royal Admiral*, when it called at Vava'u in August 1801. In England he sincerely repented of his apostasy and his participation in the savage conflicts in Tongatapu. Thenceforth he lived a quiet Christian life and was Governor of Nottingham Gaol for some years. During this time he wrote his *Authentic Narrative of Four Years' Existence at Tongatapu*, which narrated the experiences of the L.M.S. missionaries.

Conditions in Tonga deteriorated still further in the next few years, with repeated attacks on Tongatapu and the destruction of plantations by Finau 'Uluakalala's marauding parties. Most of the people in that island lived in forts for safety, and practically no planting was done for fear of being ambushed in the gardens. The consequence was famine, more terrible than any known before these disastrous years. Famine raged in Ha'apai also. The cannibalism practised out of bravado during the fighting was extended even to the eating of the flesh of relatives, because of the desperate plight of the famine-stricken people. It has been estimated that more than one-fourth of the population of Tonga died in the period 1799-1820 as victims of war and famine. The early Wesleyan missionaries noted as an evidence of the depopulation of Tongatapu that females outnumbered males approximately two to one.

Footnotes

(1) Newbury, C. M., edition of John Davies, *History of the Tahitian Mission, 1799-1830*, Vol. I, p. xxix.
(2) Lovett, R., *History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895*, Vol. I, p.64.
(3) McKern, W. C., *Archaeology of Tonga*, p.122.
(4) Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.122.
(5) Hawels, Dr. Thomas, *Papers; Royal Admiral Journal*, A.1963. M.L.S.

/see 12: Vason, this file -- Analyst/

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1908 - 1946]

rail; he knew their weaknesses as well as their strengths; they knew he loved them through everything. 797

Page devoted himself, year after year, to achieve reunion. He was diplomatic in trying to conciliate Mr. Watkin and he did his best to co-operate with him. In 1912 there was a severe hurricane in the northern islands; he went with Watkin to urge the king to devote some of the Government's reserves to finding employment for people left destitute. Even when acting alone, he was always on the side of the Tongans. In 1910 he supported their cause against the British Consul of the day who, he said frankly, was "not the right type of representative of Britain".[49] 797 795 [731] [643] [648]

He was willing to take risks of giving offence when reunion was his ultimate aim. In 1908 there was a suggestion that J. E. Moulton, Dr. Moulton's son, might return to take charge of the Church when Walkden Brown was leaving; Mr. Watkin gave his opinion that such an appointment would be unwelcome to Free Church people, and Page agreed. Again in 1910, Page discreetly opposed Moulton's coming as his colleague because he knew how the Free Church party disliked the very name.[50] Samuel Roberts, son of the old founding Principal of the Government College, a Methodist minister in New South Wales, expressed a wish to be a minister in the land of his youth and said he believed he could help the cause of reunion; but there was an objection from the Wesleyans to his coming. Page found it difficult to keep a balance but somehow he succeeded.

It would have been hard to find any Wesleyan leader in the Pacific who evoked greater loyalty than Page. Even if a colleague occasionally differed on a point of policy, he would not quarrel with Page. And this was not only because of the history of sordid disputes on the Mission staff in Tonga in the 19th Century. It was Page's personality which made others follow him gladly and work with him for the realization of his hopes for the Tongan people.

Queen Salote did not know Page very well until the union negotiations began late in 1923. For more than twenty years afterwards she found in him a perfect confidant. His intimate and extensive knowledge of the people was exceptional among contemporary Europeans. As chaplain and unofficial adviser, he became invaluable to the Queen. Always he showed discretion, for the record of political interference by missionaries was a warning. 797 643

Page's wife died in September 1939, their only child was permanently in Australia, and Page continued to serve alone in the land of his adoption. Serious ill-health compelled him to leave in 1946 and, except for brief visits in 1947 and 1950, he did not see Tonga again. He died in Sydney on 2 July 1965, aged 86; at his request his ashes were interred in his wife's grave in Nuku'alofa. 797

Page may well be considered the architect of reunion. Nevertheless, the proposals would not have been initiated without the Queen. It was her influence, based on her conviction that reunion was imperative that healed — even incompletely — the breach that had seemed irreparable for forty years. 797 795 643

/11 cont./

131 Archipelago comprises 159 predominantly small islands scattered between approximately 15 degrees and 23 degrees latitude south and 173 degrees and 176 degrees longitude west. The entire land area amounts to approximately 696 square kilometers. (1)

[113] [114]

1. = 268.9 square miles, according to the list in A. H. Wood, A History and Geography of Tonga /cited in English/, Auckland, 1945, p. 109; as yet, completely reliable information does not seem to exist; however, the area of 997 square kilometers quoted by W. Geisler (Allgemeine Landerkunde von Australien und Ozeanien /General geography of Australia and Oceania/, Hannover 1931. p. 21) is probably too high.

The largest of the 36 inhabited Tonga Islands are Tongatapu (2)

[194] [656]

2. The new spelling in Tonga, determined by government ordinance, definitively uses p for the sound midway between p and b; the spoken sound ng is now also written out (Formerly it was simply g). "Tonga Government Gazette" /cited in English/, March 31, 1943).

with approximately 256 square kilometers and Vava'u with approximately 89 square kilometers. (3)

3. Wood, loc. cit. p. 96, 99.2 square miles for Tongatapu; p. 104, 34.6 square miles for 'Uta Vava'u.

133 The inhabited islands of the Archipelago, which is partly of volcanic, partly of coral origin, and extends mainly in a north-northeast, south-southwest direction, are mostly coral limestone formations and were formed through the elevation of atolls or barrier reefs. Geographically and administratively they are divided into the three main groups of Tongatapu (in the south) with the "capital city" of Nuku'alofa, Ha'apai (in the center) with the main harbor Pangai on Lifuka, and Vava'u (in the north) with the main harbor of Neiafu; far to the north lie Niua Fo'ou (evacuated in December 1946 because of a

10 504 973

/11 cont./

101 [504] [731] volcanic eruption) and Niua Toputapu (with Tafahi). 'Ata, the southernmost island of the Archipelago, was evacuated shortly after 1861. (4)

4. Following the visit of a Peruvian slave ship.

132 The climate of the Tonga Archipelago, especially as regards the main group of Tongatapu, may be called more subtropical than tropical. (The difference with Samoa, for example, is considerable.) For the tropics it is an agreeable climate. Naturally, there is a difference between the northern and the southern islands of the extended Archipelago. Generally speaking, the maximum temperature lies between approximately 27 to 32 degreees Celsius; the mean temperature amounts to approximately 21 to 27 degrees Celsius. There is no sharp, regular seasonal change, so that one can scarcely speak of a "rainy season" and a "dry season." Rain may fall in every month. The division summer/winter is, however, justified, for heavier rains /12/ occur more often in the months from December to April (summer), along with higher temperatures and shifting, often easterly winds. In these months hurricanes may also occur. Lower temperatures (often with rather cool nights, especially on Tongatapu), along with usually lighter rainfall, or absence of rainfall for months and prevailing east-southeast (southeast) trade winds, are observed most years from May to November. Sometimes persistent droughts occur in the months of October to December.

133 Earthquakes are quite frequent, but generally so slight that they do not cause particular damage.

134 The Tonga Islands are relatively fertile (aside from soil depletion occurring on several densely populated islands). Vegetation 137 is in general luxuriant. The inhabited and several of the uninhabited 241 islands are almost completely covered with more or less well-tended plantings of the natives, save for the strips of bush around the edge

/38 cont./

563 144 For in this small island kingdom the non-fullblooded native exists by no means "between two worlds" because the number of whites is small and because he is adopted without opposition by the even-tempered Tongan community which, at most, will regard him as not bound to specific, more strict Tongan customs of old.

Diseases

164 The Tongan's resistance to various diseases is good, (79)

79. For example, these islanders seem less susceptible to typhoid than Europeans, and a white physician reported that among 120 cases of pneumonia he had only two deaths, whereas in the European area he regarded 20% as the rule.

but it is very slight with regard to many diseases, especially the imported ones. (80)

80. For example, colds, influenza, tuberculosis, eye diseases.

The chief diseases in Tonga are pulmonary tuberculosis, pneumonia, conjunctivitis, trachoma, filariasis, frambesia, typhoid. Probably very many Tongans suffer from pulmonary tuberculosis. Systematic examinations, especially on the main island, are shortly expected to [731] produce greater clarity. Occasional influenza epidemics can become very serious, with a large number of deaths. (81)

[161] [113]

81. For example, the slowly increasing population of Tonga that numbered 24,245 in 1917 dropped to 22,689 in 1919 (according to E. W. Gifford, "Tongan Society" /cited in English/, B.P.B.M. Bulletin 61. Honolulu 1929. p. 6) as a result of the influenza epidemic of 1918; for the approximately 10,000 influenza cases of 1950, however, only three deaths were reported (Report of the Medical Department for the Year 1950. Nuku'alofa 1951. p. 8).

241 /150 cont./
178 cultivation probably been made up for since the population has
[161] doubled in comparison with ancient Tongan times, and since it nourishes itself primarily on home-grown products, the necessity for cultivation should be considerable. Thus today, for example, the in-
241 311 habited islands of the Ha'apai group are almost entirely covered with plantations of the natives, except for the strip of bush land along the shore (to protect the plantations against storms) covering approximately ten percent of the land. On the island of Nomuka, for example, according to the recollection of older natives, there was a great deal of unused bush land in the old times, whereas today all productive land is cultivated, however, on Tongatapu, 'Eua and Vava'u part of the land is still unused.

241 Considerably more work seems to be required of each individual to cultivate his land than even just a few decades ago. The views of informants on various islands of the Archipelago indicate that 30 or 40 years ago it was much easier than it is today for the Tongan to feed his family with what he planted, and several relatives besides.
[134] The reason for this change probably lies particularly in the exhaustion of the soil on the naturally quite fertile islands, where, in various places for instance, there is no longer enough land available to /151/ introduce the necessary periods of fallow, (397)

397. Fertilization is still unknown.

and there is therefore relatively little yield, particularly from the yam plants. The increased population can, however, still live well on the products of its planting, (398)

[131] 398. Except for occasional hardship as a result of drought or storms.

even though there is no longer the surplus of products that G. B. Forster, for example, reports (on Nomuka). (399)

/301 cont./

175 discovered the most important islands. In 1792 he returned and
177 extended his discoveries. In 1793, D'Entrecateaux saw one of the Fiji Islands, in 1794 Captain Barber touched the Archipelago. In 1797 Wilson, with the "Duff," passed through the group and in 1799 Captain Bentley caught sight of a few of the islands.

All these seafarers of the 17th and 18th centuries had scarcely any contact, or none worth mentioning, with the natives; they had no particular interest in this Archipelago with its dangerous reefs, and their voyages had other goals. But then the situation changed abruptly.

175 During the early years of the 19th century sandalwood was discovered in
177 Fiji, and in one part of the Archipelago there was a considerable
439 onrush of ships, which, however, ceased after a decade when all the wood had been cut down and carried away. But by that time some natives had come into closer contact with Europeans. Seamen had traded with the Fijians and, in order to earn their sandalwood, entire crews of European ships finally took part in native conflicts. Shipwrecked and run-away sailors entered the service of chiefs; throught their help and introduction of muskets new powerful native states were created in the decades that followed. A further result of this and later contacts was the spread of new diseases which, throughout the century caused appalling epidemics among the Fijians who did not yet have sufficient immunity against them.

[164]
[131]

The sandalwood transporters were then followed by the ships of whalers and American trepang-seekers, and at the beginning of the thirties of the 19th century, traders settled on the shore of Levuka.

175 In 1835 the first white Wesleyan missionaries arrived, followed in 1844
177 by the Catholic Mission, and thereafter European influence gradually
997 began to spread over the entire Archipelago. As a result of the visits of ships and the /302/ activity of "beachcombers" /cited in English/,

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

369 596 593 591 166 employment is found or a means of establishing a new urban household is secured. At this point division is accomplished and the newly urbanized family becomes another potential host to migrating relatives. This system with its chain nature of migratory urbanization was observed in many of the surveyed urban households.

369 166 Thus, migration to urban areas has been in response to economic and social pressures for education, employment and the prestige of urban living, plus a lessening attachment to the traditional village life style. Therefore, migratory trends are indicative of cultural and economic changes in Tonga, which are expected to continue.

436 178 With the development of cash cropping and a greater dependency being placed upon a cash economy, money has become an essential to the average Tongan. Not only is it needed to meet social obligations (i.e., education, taxes and church contributions) but it is also increasingly important in satisfying the basic subsistence 178 needs of both rural and urban residents. The desire to increase 241 cash income has altered the agricultural pattern of the nation 182 from traditional to cash cropping, thus eliminating a dependency upon the land for production of food and material necessities. [458] [73] These changes have been facilitated by fluctuations in post-World War II copra prices, and such natural disasters as drought and hurricanes.

369 166 [464] While Nuku'alofa does not offer full-time employment to most migrants, there remains the possibility for part-time labor, sufficient to meet the minimum cash requirements. Thus, urban

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

133 1. Subaerial volcanic islands, formed above the sea by volcanic action.

2. Raised marine volcanic islands formed beneath the sea and elevated, composed of both volcanic material and limestone.

3. Islands formed entirely from limestone.

The volcanic islands to the west form a line extending Northeast to Southwest, approximately parallel to the long axis of the group. Raised marine volcanic islands are found in the Southern Ha'apai group and the island of 'Eua. Limestone islands comprise Tongatapu, the Vava'u group and the Northern Ha'apai islands. The material of this latter group is entirely of coral origin which seems to have been formed by the elevation of the various atolls through geologic history (Pacific Islands, Vol. III, 1944, pp. 15-21).

[731] The islands have experienced volcanic activities in historic time which, while not always severely damaging, have caused evacuation of some islands. It is also significant to note this activity [134] has contributed to the soil fertility of the islands adjacent to an eruption through the spreading of volcanic ash over the area. The majority of this activity is found in the western chain of islands away from the mainstream of Tongan life located on the coral limestone islands to the east (Pacific Islands, Vol. III, 1944, pp. 15-21).

131 Geographically, the islands of Tonga are found in three distinct groups spread along a 500 mile North-to-South axis (Figure 4A). These groups are: Vava'u to the Northeast, the central islands of Ha'apai, and Tongatapu to the Southwest. The

732

732 DEFECTIVES--incidence of serious physical defects (e.g., blindness, deaf-mutism, crippling infirmities and deformities, feeblemindedness); interpretation of deformities and defects; care and treatment of defectives (e.g., neglect, persecution, euthanasia, home care, charity, institutionalization); organization, operation, and financial support of special institutions for defectives; adjustments to defects (e.g., seeing-eye dogs, prosthetic devices, hearing aids); sterilization of defectives; etc. See also:

Incidence of insanity	158	Begging	735
Sign language	201	Care of the insane	768
Guardianship	429	Interpretations of physical abnormalities	826
Aids to locomotion	481	Infanticide	847
Care of war veterans	729	Care of aged	737, 888

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

18. Aleamotua, Josiah, or Tupouifaletuipapai. Son of Mumui. Appointed in 1826, died 1845.
19. George I Tupou, Taufaahau I, or Maeakafa. Son of Tupoutoa. Appointed December 4, 1845, died February 18, 1893.
20. George II Tupou, Taufaahau II. Son of the Tui Pelehake George Fatafehi and son's daughter's son of George I Tupou. Appointed March 17, 1893, died April 5, 1918.
21. Charlotte Mafileo. Daughter of George II Tupou. Appointed October 9, 1918.

The published works consulted indicate a hiatus between 1820 and 1826 in which there was no Tui Kanokupolu. Actually Ulakai, paternal half-brother of Tupoutoa, was appointed at the island of Uiha, following Tupoutoa's interment. He seems never to have been formally inducted into office at the sacred *koka* tree in the Hihifo District, Tongatabu, so presumably should not be counted as a Tui Kanokupolu.

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE VARIOUS TUI KANOKUPOLU

1. Ngata. The first Tui Kanokupolu, Ngata, was one of the younger sons of the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua (Moungatonga). He was half Samoan, his mother being Tohuia, daughter of the chief Ama (Kama) of Safata, Upolu. He was sent by his father, so tradition goes, to Hihifo to rule over the western division of Tongatabu and assumed the title of Tui Kanokupolu. Thomson (54, p. 307) gives 1610 as the probable date for his installation, Collocott (13, p. 180) gives 1650. Probably the earlier date is more nearly correct, for both Ngata and the twenty-eighth Tui Tonga, Tapuosi, married the daughters of Ahomee, according to the Tamaha's genealogies. There is today a hamlet in Hihifo District known as Kanokupolu, the name said to mean "flesh (or heart) of Upolu," Upolu being the second largest island of the Samoan group.

The modern lineage, Haa Ngata Motua, regards Ngata as its eponymous ancestor. Certain chiefs who belong to it bear as titles the names or titles first borne by Ngata's sons.

2. Atamataila. Atamataila left no particular mark upon Tongan history. It was evidently his daughter Tuutangahunuhunu who was taken to the Tui Tonga Fakanaanaa against her wishes (26, p. 69).

3. Mataeletuapiko. As the name seems to indicate, Mataeletuapiko must have been deformed, for *tuapiko* means hunchback. It is related that he prevented his ambitious son Mataelehaamea from becoming Tui Haa Takalaua. Mataeletuapiko is considered the ancestor of the great modern lineage of Haa Havea, certain of the chiefs of which bear the same titles as did Mataeletuapiko's sons. The people of Toku Island (now uninhabited) were of the Haa Takalaua and were descendants of political exiles from Haamea in central Tongatabu. Their flight to Toku is said to have taken place in the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko, and presumably resulted from the attempt of his son Mataelehaamea to seize the position of Tui Haa Takalaua.

4. Mataelehaamea. The fourth Tui Kanokupolu, Mataelehaamea, was the ancestor of the modern lineage Haa Ngata Tupu. His nickname Mataeleusitea refers to the lack of tattooing on his "backside" (buttocks?).

5. Vuna. There is some doubt as to whether Vuna, listed as fifth Tui Kanokupolu, really was appointed to that office. His name is omitted from West's list. It was either he or one of his successors of the same name whom Ulukalala II overthrew when he established himself as master of Vavau. It seems unlikely that Vuna, the son of Mataeletuapiko, was the man whom Ulukalala drove from Vavau (40, vol. 1, pp. 86, 88, 160). The Vuna (op. cit. p. 410) of Mariner's time may have been the son or grandson of the fifth Tui Kanokupolu.

6. Maafuotuitonga. Nothing seems to be on record about this ruler.

7. Tupoulahi. The seventh Tui Kanokupolu, Tupoulahi, may have held office at

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

the one in which I lived. A choir of men entertained the chief at nights, singing, among other things, the compositions dealing with the rhinoceros beetle. My wish to hear these pieces becoming known to him, he courteously sent the choir to sing them to me, and I had the words written down.

Love poems are called *hiva kakala*, songs of sweet-smelling flowers, of which some modern specimens are given (p. 125). A collection of modern poems, including pieces for dances, might be enlarged indefinitely. What are presented are fairly typical. Direct references to passion are remarkably rare, except in present-day compositions. Instead, the poet speaks of pleasing sights and sounds and fragrances, and the imagination must supply the circumstance that the lover would fain walk with his mistress in these pleasant places, frequent festivals with her, give to her, or receive at her hands, sweet-smelling garlands and flowers.

There are other poems in which wooing is represented under the image of hunting the pigeon. Other images, for example fishing, may be so employed. This reserve is characteristic of the Tongans, who are a proud and self-controlled people.

Mariner speaks of the frequency with which Samoan songs are used as accompaniments to dances. Perhaps he overstates this; but Samoan verses, not understood and often corrupted, are frequently sung. There is also a marked tendency to embellish compositions with foreign words and phrases, Samoan, Fijian, and, today, English. Sometimes these loan words are intelligible to the Tongans; but, whether understood or not, they evidently please by their sound. The language of poetry is remarkably terse and pregnant. Almost invariably each line is complete in itself. I have translated line for line. It has been difficult to avoid making the English of these pithy verses bald and harsh. Anyone desiring a good idiomatic knowledge of the language could scarcely do better than study the poetry. The language is terse, forceful, idiomatic, and such as is used in ordinary conversation. It does not always conform to the organizations attempted in printed grammars. The way in which the Tongan speaks is not always quite that in which his European grammarians thinks he must have intended to speak.

MAMAEAEPOTO AND FALEPALANGI

Two famous bards lived in the first half of the nineteenth century. Many of their poems are composed in rivalry with one another. Mamaeaepoto belonged to Vavau, though it is clear he came to spend a good deal of time with the chiefs of Tongatabu. Falepapalangi belonged to the western (*hihifo*) district of Tongatabu. Both were deformed; Mamaeaepoto had misshapen hands, and Falepapalangi had deformed feet.

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539 *Dracaena* (possibly the leaf and streamer girdle, *sisi*), or whether it is *sii* (as written), the common, usually untranslatable, word of affection.

3. Fetoa and Toloke are evidently localities represented by the suitors.

[103] 4. The champion of Veifefe is Vaenuku, from Eua. Veifefe is the name of a tiny stream in Eua. The word is also written Veefefe.

Page 51. The transformation of Vaenuku's brother

[538] 1. This is the usual ceremonious and apologetic way of commencing speech; *uta* (shore) means the dwellers in the land; *kau*, the comers to the festival at which the poem is recited.

Page 52. Auka and Talataiva

[538] 1. There is a well-known proverb, *Ko ho'o foui ne fai*, "Your *foui* did it," equivalent to "It is your own fault."

[302] [585] [837] 2. This needless betrayal of an illicit amour seems strange, but with it may be compared the painting of brides with turmeric during the marriage ceremony. I have heard, though without much confirmation, that husbands sometimes safeguarded the fidelity of their wives during their absence by painting their bellies with turmeric. Obliteration of the design was evidence of unfaithfulness. Is there, behind all this, a blood ritual connected with sexual intercourse?

[538] 3. There is a well-known proverb, *tuonaki Auka* (relying on Auka) which indicates misplaced confidence (17, no. 552).

Page 58. How the vete was taken to Hihifo

[825] [776] 1. Haitau is called also Mufutaaetau (8, p. 228).

Page 59. Flea and nit go fishing

539 825 The *matakelekele* is said to be a very strange-looking fish. For Samoa, Krämer gives *mataeleele* as *filoa* before it is fully grown (26, vol. 2, pp. 417, 419). There are indications that the *matakelekele* was once worshipped, a very intelligent informant saying that he heard a man say that sacrifices were taken to it.

[103] [551] 2. Haapepe and Haatafu are names of localities in Tonga. The not infrequent occurrence in names of *pepe* (butterfly) suggests that there may have been once a butterfly clan.

Pages 59-61. The club-footed children

539 [192] [782] [192] [197] 1. In the course of the story three words used of supernatural beings are used of the demon: *nifoloa, faahikehe,* and *tevolo.*

2. It would seem that the success of an incantation, or invocation, was achieved by preceding it by the word *tuputupu-le-fanua.* The form of the word is Samoan rather than Tongan, but it apparently is not known in Samoa, as it is not in Pratt's Dictionary. Tregear (34) defines Tuputupuwhenua as "a celebrated divine or semi-divine personage mentioned in Polynesian traditions. He is also called Tumutumu-whenua." Thus the incantation may have been originally an appeal to the being mentioned by Tregear.

[177] [845] [732] 3. The rock wall can hardly be an original feature in a Tongan story. This feature may be borrowed, or introduced lately, or the story itself may be a borrowed one into which some Tongan ideas are introduced. The mother's shame at the deformity of her children is characteristic. Tongans are more sensitive to physical blemishes than are Europeans.

Page 61. Tafakula and the origin of the papaya

[779] [824] 1. The sandalwood (*ahi*) of a ruddy brown color, is said to be especially associated with this goddess (8, p. 237).

Page 61. The Samoan and the Tongan exchange gifts

[196] [115] 1. The depreciatory effect of the reduplication of *niu* (nut) can perhaps be best rendered by the use of "near" in the sense in which it has become familiar as applied to beer. I heard this story told by Professor A. R. Brown, now of Sydney University.

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Pages 66-67. A poem of Mamaeaepoto

1. This is a depreciatory introduction by the poet to his poem.
2. The statements to which Mamaeaepoto refers were probably made in another poem of the rival, Falepapalangi.
3. The expression *masi homou kelekele* is difficult to translate. One meaning of *masi* relates to oil which has been kept a long time, the fragrance thereby being fully brought out. The inference is made that the reference is to the gathering to which the poem is recited, or sung, the people being in festive array, with abundance of sweet smelling oil and garlands.
4. The simile is made to pigeon-snaring (*heu lupe*). "The *sio*, mound on which the sport is carried on, has fallen to you; you have become the champion of the *sio*."
5. Falepapalangi has claimed that Mamaeaepoto has borrowed ideas or verses from him. Mamaeaepoto retorts by making the same claim against his rival.
6. A variant reads *Nae sili pe e mahina*, which is susceptible of a similar translation, to that given but might also be translated, "Who netted (caught) the moon" (an ironic gibe—you are the great hero who caught the moon). There seem, however, to be no Tongan tales referring to a catching of the moon.
7. The lines which follow may be called the parable of the boat. There is a gibe at Falepapalangi's deformity, which makes it impossible for him to do any of the tasks in a boat. Mamaeaepoto, although his hands were misshapen, is said to have been able to work in a boat, as he here claims. In these, and in the following lines, besides the literal meaning, there is a metaphorical reference to the craft of the bard.
8. Mamaeaepoto says that although Falepapalangi cannot do the work of the boat, no one will blame him, deformed as he is. The Tongan is peculiarly sensitive to physical blemishes.
9. Mamaeaepoto enumerates various things which it would be absurd for Falepapalangi to attempt. Lofia, the crater of Tofua, in Haapai, Matahau, an inland village in Tongatabu; Tuita was the chief sailor of the Tui Tonga; Loau, a very famous chief, of perhaps the thirteenth century, to whom is attributed the division of the lands of Tonga amongst the various chiefs; Lomu, the Tui Tonga's chief boat builder; Lolopaongo, the famous regiment of the village of Foui.
10. The literal meaning of *ma'ahi'ahi* is not clear. One meaning is "little wave [of the sea]" and it has also been suggested that the literal meaning here is "waved about." "Clearly defeated" seems to give the sense.
11. Mamaeaepoto recommends to Falepapalangi to "go along quietly and look well to your sail, lest I send you a gust that will sink you, and you don't reach the point you are making for" (figuratively represented as the fishing reef). "The gathering of birds" means the flock of birds hovering over a shoal of fish. Faleosinilau, Fokihangatonga, and Puhoiatu are names of fishing grounds.
12. Paleikolotau is the name of an individual tree or, more probably, of the locality where some well-marked tree stood, apparently near Lavengahau, a place in Vavau, where it is indicated that sweet smelling flowers for wreaths and girdles were plentiful. Mamaeaepoto calls for the sweet blossoms of his native Vavau to prepare him for his victorious exploits at the Sacred Reef (famous fishing ground), that is for his triumphs in poetry.
13. "The people of Tonga shall see that, although I was born in Vavau, I am equal to them." Probably there are three strata of meaning: the literal claim of skill in fishing, the figurative one of skill in poetry, and, since Tonga (that is, Tongatabu as distinguished from Haapai and Vavau) is the seat of the highest chiefs, the claim that Mamaeaepoto, no less than Falepapalangi or any other, has by his abilities won a place of closeness to the great chiefs.
14. Possibly this sentence was sung by a chorus.
15. Mamaeaepoto turns the tables on his rival by the assertion that, although Falepapalangi is a Tongan born, yet he has neglected to celebrate in his poems the points of beauty and interest of his country, having been too much taken up with abuse of Mamaeaepoto to do it justice, or less likely he turns in good-humored criticism on himself, telling himself to leave his attack on the man of Tongatabu and celebrate the beauties of the country.
16. Meaning "Burying, concealing, omitting to celebrate Tongatabu."
17. Line of breakers; indicates a good place for surf-riding.
18. Sina is an unidentified place; Valefanau is in Hihifo.

/37 cont./

144 563 birthrate--are no longer included. One can imagine that the dissemination of "European blood portions" among this people, that 30 years ago had a population of only 25,000, could be considerable. The actual extent of this European influence, however, can probably never be clearly determined, since one may not suspect every Tongan child born blond of having a portion of European blood, and since Cook found hundreds of "truly European faces" (see above) which undoubtedly resembled the ancient Tongan people. The noticeable admixture of Melanesian blood may in part be very old, in part traceable to the active intercourse between Fiji and Tonga up to the present time.

142 164 [177] [732] Other European influences, such as diseases or alcohol, have not visibly influenced the physical appearance of the Tongan. The observation of Ellis in 1777: "we did not see one instance of deformity amongst them," /cited in English/ (78)

78. W. Ellis, loc. cit., p. 91.

holds good even today, for it may be said that one scarcely meets a cripple in Tonga, and the natives with their sturdy build and their good posture give an altogether healthy impression--such as one does not find in the streets of a European metropolis; even the old Polynesian affliction of elephantiasis does not appear to the extent that it does in Tahiti, for example.

142 144 177 [563] /38/ According to today's findings, therefore, neither the character nor the physical appearance of the Tongan seems to have undergone a profound change in the course of the centuries of European influence. Certain changes brought about by admixtures of European blood, for example, --insofar as they are recognizable-- have usually been advantageous, since in such cases the Tongan apathy was repressed and these more lively, versatile and enterprising natives generally got along better in "modern" Tonga.